

# HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XX

JANUARY, 1927

NUMBER 1

## A PAPYRUS FRAGMENT OF ACTS IN THE MICHIGAN COLLECTION

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PAPYRUS 1571 of the Michigan Collection was bought in Cairo in 1924 in a large purchase, which was allotted to the contributing institutions by Mr. H. I. Bell of the British Museum. Many documents in the Michigan part of the purchase came from the Fayûm, but no further evidence is obtainable regarding the place of origin of this fragment. It came to us in three pieces, of which one was only partly unfolded and all were so dirty as to be rather illegible, but the papyrus was already designated as a portion of Acts and dated in the fourth century.

Not until the summer of 1926 was my attention called to it, when with a few hours' work I finished unfolding the third fragment and cleaned off most of the dirt from all three. The fragments were then easily united into the upper half of a leaf of a book. Parts of 21 lines are preserved on each side of the leaf. No line is complete, but several lack only five or six letters each. In fully two-thirds of the lines the lacunae are so small that the text can be restored with certainty, and here the excellence and regularity of the writing is of special assistance, for the papyrus was written by an excellent, trained scribe. The combination of heavy main-strokes with light cross-strokes conduces to legibility and gives a pleasing effect.

The date is not easy to determine, though from the first I doubted the ascription to the fourth century. The alpha is always angular, the omicron small, and the phi most noteworthy with its oval centre flattened on the upper side and slightly angular on the bottom. The mu is angular and the

central angle does not quite reach the base of the letter. Still more characteristic is the distinction between broad and narrow letters;  $\omicron$ ,  $\sigma$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\rho$ , and  $\epsilon$  are decidedly oval, but all the other letters except  $\iota$  tend to be broad. This is noticeable in  $\alpha$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\xi$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\upsilon$ ,  $\phi$ , and  $\omega$ .

A good example to compare is Oxyrhynchus Pap. 843 (Plato's Symposium), a large roll assigned to the end of the second century. This shows similarity in the general breadth of letters and heaviness of strokes, as well as in the forms of characteristic letters. Yet the hand is distinctly older than that of our papyrus. Another good example of this by no means rare hand is Oxyrhynchus Pap. 1607 (Hyperides?). Earlier stages of this hand tend to be smaller, as the Demosthenes and Alcaeus papyri, which Schubart (Abbildungen 83 and 84) gives as examples of the "strenger Stil" of the second century. A more accessible facsimile is Oxyrhynchus Pap. 26 (Demosthenes).

The hand used in the papyrus of Plato's Symposium and those like it form the bridge from the "strenger Stil" to the "Bibel-stil" of the third century (Schubart, Palaeographie, Erster Teil, 1925, p. 132). One of the latest forms of this type is Oxyrhynchus Pap. 849 (Acts of Peter, parchment). As the hand develops in the third century the narrow letters broaden and omicron becomes regular in size. An early example of this is the papyrus of Julius Africanus, about 250 A.D. (Thompson, Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography, facs. 14). This is the first step toward the heavy-stroked, broad, or rounded letters of the type which was the forerunner on papyrus of the parchment Bibles of the fourth and fifth centuries. Other good examples of the Julius Africanus type of hand accessible in facsimile are Oxyrhynchus Pap. 405, 406, 455, and 1224.

Hands doubtless developed faster in some localities and more slowly in others, but the best writers were not much behind their times. As the writer of our papyrus was a practised scribe of exceptional skill and elegance, he must belong within his general period, which is definitely fixed between 200 and 250 A.D. by the development just traced.



The extreme measurements of the fragment are  $5\frac{3}{4}$  by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The original width must have been nearly five inches, of which the column of writing covered over  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches on one side and about 4 on the other. The original height of the leaf can be determined with less certainty. The 21 lines of which parts are preserved cover on one side 15 lines of the text of Codex Bezae as printed in Ropes's edition, on the other about 13 lines. There was a little more than 11 lines of text between the two fragments. Not only was the column broader on the first page than on the second, but each line contained more letters; 31 to 34 against 27 to 32 letters. The lost portion between the two fragments belonged to the first page, so that we should reckon the proportionate length of the two parts of the column as 15 to 11. There were therefore 16 lines in the lost portion and 37 on the page. The 21 lines of writing cover five inches in length, so that the whole 37 would have covered nearly nine inches. One inch at the top is blank, and we may assume as much at the bottom. The original size of the leaf was about 5 by 11 inches. The double sheet of papyrus used for two leaves was about 10 by 11 inches, an excellent literary size.

The number NΘ is preserved on the top of the second page (no number being preserved on the first page). This is probably a page-number, as no sizable quires could reach the number 59, even if the manuscript contained the whole New Testament. In so early a book there was probably but a single quire, as in the Freer Minor Prophets, the Berlin Genesis, the Michigan Shepherd of Hermas (see also Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, p. 126). This supposition finds some support in the varying width of the columns. The scribe seems to have been careful not to extend the lines into the binding-edge, but to have felt more free towards the outer edge. Even if such a book of a single quire contained only Acts, it would have been an awkward form to bind, and the scribe had to avoid writing close to the inner margin of the leaves if his work was to be easily read.

The page-number 59 corresponds well with the size of Acts. One page of the papyrus contained 24 to 26 lines of the text of

Codex Bezae as in Ropes's edition. If the average of 25 be taken, then 1450 lines of text must have preceded p. 59 (NΘ). There are 1415 lines in Ropes's edition, if the lacunae of Codex Bezae are filled out with the Vaticanus text. This is a small discrepancy and is seen to be negligible when we note that the text of the papyrus is slightly longer even than that of Codex Bezae. The page-number indicates that the book began with Acts and hence probably contained Acts only.

I do not discuss the possibility that this was a leaf-number, since I know of no examples of papyri in which leaves were numbered on the second page of the leaf. Neither would a leaf-number be consistent with any probable content for the book.

Before discussing the character of the text of the fragment, it is best to give a reprint of the whole text, with lacunae supplied, accompanied by explanatory notes.

### MICHIGAN PAPYRUS 1571

Acts 18, 27-19, 6; 19, 12-16

#### *Recto*

- XVIII 27 [ . . . . . ] θειν ἀχαΐα πολυ συνε [βαλλετο εν ταις εκκλη] 1  
 28 [σι]αι[s] ευτονως γαρ τοις ιου[δαι]οις διακ[ατηλεγ]  
 [χετο] δημοσια δια[λεγομεν]ος επι[δεικνυς]
- XIX 1 [δια τ]ων γραφων χρ[υ]ν [ειναι] ιην θελονι[ος δε] 5  
 [του π]αυλου κατα τη[ν ιδιαν] βου[λη]ν [πορευ]  
 [εσθα]ι εις ιεροσολυμα [ειπεν αυτω] το [π[να]  
 [υποστρ]εφειν εις τ[ην] ασιαν διελθων δε τα  
 2 [ανωτ]ερικα μερ[η ε]ρχετα[ι εις εφεσον] και [ει]  
 [πεν τοι]ς μαθηταις ει π[να] αγ[ιον] ελαβ[ετε] πι  
 [στευσα]ντες το ιδιω [το]ν κυ ειναι [οι δε προ]ς αυτο 10  
 [αλλ ου]δ ει π[να] αγιον λαμβαν[ουσιν τι]νες η  
 3 [κουσα]μεν ο δε παυλος προς αυ[του]ς· [ει]ς τι ου  
 [εβαπτ]ισθητε· οι δε ελεγον εις το [ι]ωαννου  
 4 [βαπτι]σμα ειπεν δε παυλος ιωαννης εβ[α]  
 [πιτισε]ν βαπτισμα μετανοιας τω λαω λεγω[ν]  
 [εις τον] ερχομενον με[τ] αυτον ινα πιστευ[σω] 15

- 5 [σιν του]τ εστιν εις τον ιην ακου[σ]αντε[s δε]  
 [τουτο εβαπτι]σθησαν εις το ονομα του κ[υ]  
 6 [ιην του χριστου εις α]φεσιν αμαρτιων κ[αι]  
 [επιθεντος αυτοις το]υ πα[υλου χειρα] επε[πε] 20  
 [σεν πνα το αγιον επ αυ]του[s.....]

## Verso

## NΘ

- 12 [.....] επι τους ασθενουν[τας]  
 [επιφε]ρεσθα[ι α]πο του χρωτος σουδα[ρια]  
 η σιμικινθι[α κ]αι απαλλασσεσθαι α[π αυτω]  
 [τ]ας νοσου[s τα τ]ε π[ντα] τα πονηρα εκπο] 5  
 13 [ρνευ]σθ[αι επεχειρ]ησαν δε τινες κ[αι εκ]  
 [των περιερχομενων]ν ιουδαιων εξ[ορκι]  
 [στων ονομαζειν επ]ι τους εχοντ[ας τα]  
 πν[τα] τα πον[ηρα τ]ο ο[νομα του κ]υ ιην  
 λ[εγοντες] εξορκιζομεν υμ[ας τον] ιην  
 14 ον [κηρυ]σσει ο παυλος εν οis και υ[ιοι] 10  
 ιο[υ] δαιου τινος αρχιερεως ηθ[ελη]  
 σαν [το α]υτο ποιησαι εθος εχοντες [εξορκι]  
 ζειν τους τοιουτους και εισελθο[υτες]  
 προς δαιμονιζομενον ηρξα[ντο επι]  
 καλεισθαι το ονομα λεγοντες π[αραγγελ] 15  
 λομεν σοι εν ιην ον παυλος ο [αποστο]  
 15 λος κηρυσσει εξελθειν απο[κριθεν]  
 δε το πνα το πονηρο[ν ειπεν αυτοις ιην]  
 [γ]εινωσκω κα[ι το]ν παυλον επισταμαι  
 16 [υ]μ[εις δε τινε]ς εσ[τε και εφαλομενος] 20  
 [ο ανθρωπος ε]π α[υτους.....]

*Recto*, line 1 [.....]θειν is doubtful, but the remnants of letters seem reconcilable with this reading and not with την, which is further rendered doubtful by the reading αχαια for αχαιαν. Yet compare βουλομενου δε αυτου διελθειν εις την Αχαιαν of the common text and *profectus est et ✕ in Achaïam* < of the Harclean.

Line 4. θελονι[os] is read with certainty, but the ι must be an error for τ.



Line 9. *ειπεν* is supplied at the beginning because it just fills the space and is called for by the dative *τοῖς μαθηταῖς*. This is a natural simple form for the original narrative but would cause question in the minds of the early readers because the disciples had not been previously mentioned. The 'Western' and common texts give two ways of smoothing away the difficulty. *πι[στευσα]ντες*: the first two letters are not visible in the facsimile; they stand on a detached piece which slipped out of place before photographing.

Line 10. This is the most doubtful line in the whole fragment, and nothing similar is found in other manuscripts. The doubtful letters are printed with a point underneath, but the doubt is not very great in the case of the first five. In *ιδιω* the last letter is doubtful, but the abbreviation mark visible. There is hardly space for two letters where I have supplied them in *[το]ν*, but I can suggest no alternative. Both letters of *κν* are distinguishable, but the abbreviation stroke is not visible. Two extra letters had to be crowded into the last lacuna, but the whole line is a little more crowded than the others and the scribe was trying to finish the phrase in the line, so that it does not seem necessary to assume a variant here. Line 2 presents a similar case of crowding at the end of the line.

Lines 18-19. Here it is necessary to supply the fullest possible form in order to fill the lacuna. The addition of the article, though unsupported, is not strange; but the failure to abbreviate *χριστου* would be unusual, even if we did not have the abbreviation preserved in line 3. It can be excused only in a very early manuscript, where abbreviation has not become stereotyped. The older forms used for Jesus show the same condition. Yet after all the real defence must be the impossibility of fitting anything else into this phrase and the accuracy of the scribe in spacing.

Line 20. Enough is preserved to show that the order of words is not the 'Western,' but the space is exactly right for the singular *χειρα*. The plural of the common text calls for another letter, which would crowd the space. Also in the following enough is preserved to show the same combination of common with 'Western' readings.

*Verso*, line 3. Though  $\eta$  is doubtful and a lacuna precedes, the omission of  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  1° is practically certain both from space and from the remnants of the letter visible.

At the end of the line I have kept the regular reading  $\alpha[\pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\nu]$ , although the space is right for  $\alpha[\upsilon\tau\omega\nu]$ , which could be construed. An extra two letters at the end of the line is not unusual, even in this small fragment.

Lines 5-6. The reading  $\kappa[\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omega\nu]$  is all in lacuna except the first letter, of which the first upright stroke is preserved. The first word was therefore  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  rather than  $\epsilon\kappa$ .  $\tau\omega\nu$  is required by the space at the beginning of the line, while the space at the end of line 5 favors the retention of  $\epsilon\kappa$ . This is clearly the original text out of which both 'Western' and common text arose by the omission of a single word.

Line 8. The addition of the article before  $\pi\omicron\nu\eta\eta\rho\alpha$  is required by space, since the form of the abbreviation  $\overline{\pi\nu\tau\alpha}$  is made certain by line 4.

Line 11.  $\ddot{\iota}\phi[\upsilon\ ]\delta\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$  is read with considerable doubt. There is space in the lacuna for two more letters, so that it could not be filled even if extreme breadth is supposed for  $\upsilon$  and  $\delta$ , which the scribe often makes broader than the average letter. Of the  $\delta$  only the extreme right-hand point is preserved, so that the entire size of the letter falls in the lacuna. On the other hand no variant can be suggested, for iota with the diaeresis is sure, and also omicron, of which one-half is preserved. It seems necessary to suppose either a small place in the papyrus on which the scribe could not write, or else an error immediately crossed out, which took the space of two letters. The former view is preferable because of the way in which the papyrus is torn, which indicates a weak place at this spot. In any case  $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$  must have been omitted, for not more than one or two extra letters could have been crowded in at the end of the previous line, and those could not be connected with the lacuna here.

Line 16.  $\omicron\ [\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron]\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  has no other manuscript authority but is made certain both by the last three letters and by the space. The grain of the papyrus, along which the tear was made, is not perpendicular to the writing but inclines slightly to the



left from top to bottom. The amount lost at the ends of the lines is three to four letters at the top and six to seven at the bottom.

Line 17. *απο[κριθεν]* δε. Though the 'Western' text is again deserted for the common text, the reading is sure both from the letters preserved and from the space.

Line 18. [*ιην*]. The omission of the article has no other support, but this reading gives the normal number of letters for the line and is similar to other changes found in this fragment. Yet the addition of three letters at the end of the line is not impossible, as can be seen from the crowding at the end of line 10 of the recto. The reading must be considered doubtful.

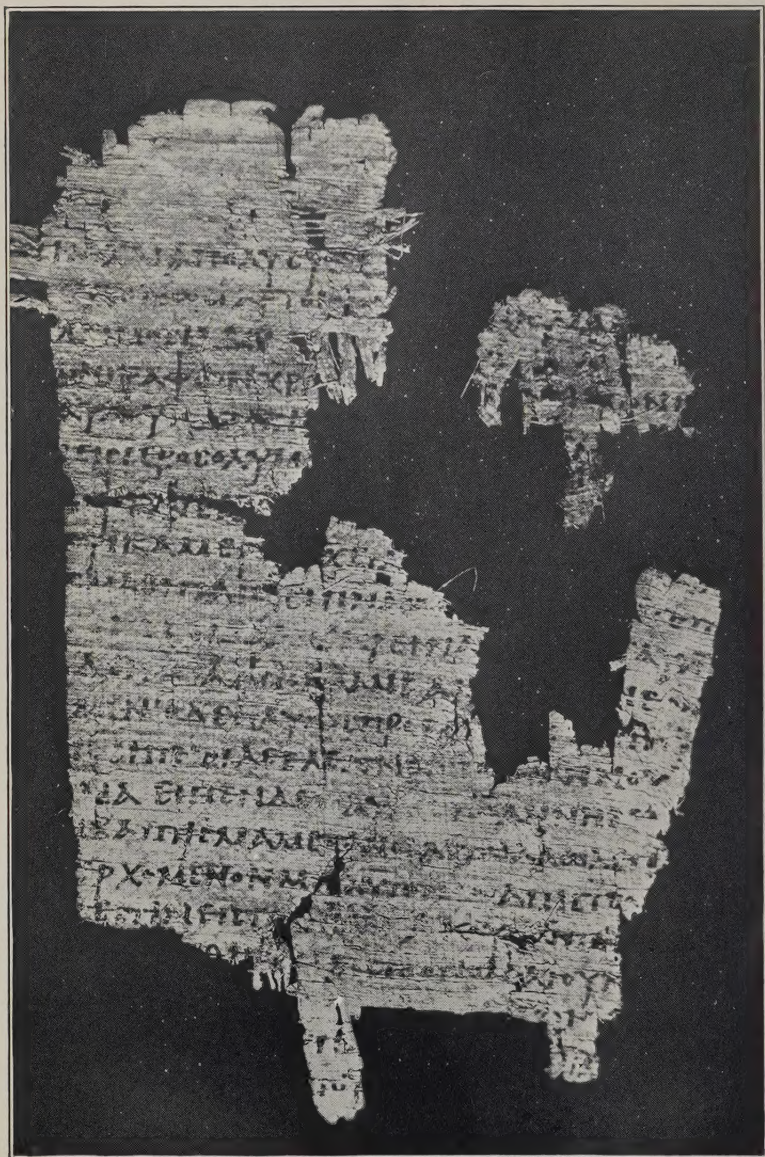
Lines 20-21. I have here written the common text rather than the 'Western,' although only the letter  $\pi$  is certain in the last line. However, the remnant of a letter after it agrees better with an alpha than with an omicron, the only alternative. Moreover this arrangement gives the right number of letters in the lacuna.

Only the earliest ecclesiastical abbreviations are used:  $\overline{\kappa\nu}$ ,  $\overline{\iota\eta\nu}$ ,  $\overline{\iota\eta\nu}$ ,  $\overline{\chi\rho\nu}$ ,  $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$ ,  $\overline{\pi\nu\tau\alpha}$ , and a stroke above the vowel for final  $\nu$  in a few cases.

The text of the papyrus is thoroughly 'Western,' as can be shown by printing in parallel columns the text of the papyrus, of Codex Bezae, and of Codex Vaticanus. The agreements of Codex Bezae and of Codex Vaticanus with the papyrus but against each other are shown by bold-faced type in the text of those two codices respectively. Agreements in omission are indicated by a caret (^) inserted in the text of the codex.

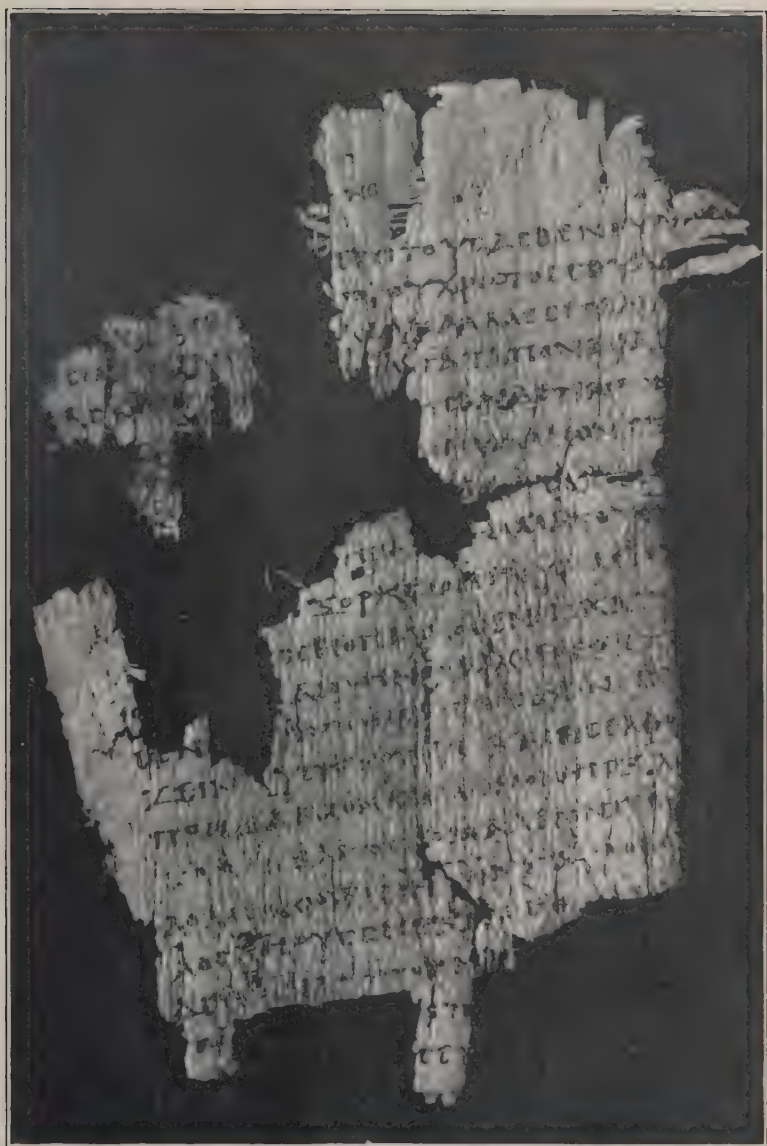






ACTS 18, 27-19, 6





ACTS 19, 12-16





## Codex Bezae

## Papyrus

## Vaticanus

εις την Αχαιαν πολυ συνε-  
βαλλετο εν ταις εκκλησιαις.  
ευτονως γαρ τοις Ιουδαιοις  
διακατηλεγχετο δημοσια δια-  
λεγομενος και επιδικνυς δια  
των γραφων τον Ιησουν ει-  
ναι Χριστον.

Θελοντος δε του Παυλου κατα  
την ιδιαν βουλην πορευεσθαι  
εις Ιεροσολυμα ειπεν αυτω το  
πνευμα υποστρεφειν εις την  
Ασιαν, διελθων δε τα ανωτε-  
ρικα μερη ερχεται εις Εφε-  
σον, και ευρων τινας μαθη-  
τας ειπεν προς αυτους· Ει  
πνευμα αγιον ελαβετε πισ-  
τευσαντες; οι δε προς αυτον·  
Αλλ ουδε πνευμα αγιον λαμ-  
βανουσιν τινες ηκουσαμεν· ει-  
πεν δε· Εις τι ουν εβαπτισ-  
θητε; οι δε ελεγον· Εις το  
Ιωανου βαπτισμα· ειπεν δε  
ο Παυλος· Ιωαννης εβαπτι-  
σεν βαπτισμα μετανοιας, τω  
λαω λεγων εις τον ερχομενον  
μετ αυτον ινα πιστευσωσιν,  
τουτ εστιν εις Χριστον.  
ακουσαντες δε τουτο εβαπτι-  
σθησαν εις το ονομα κυριου  
Ιησου Χριστου εις αφεσιν αμαρ-  
τιων· και επιθεντος αυτοις  
χειρα του Παυλου ευθεως επε-  
πεσεν το πνευμα το αγιον επ  
αυτοις· . . . . .

[...]θειν αχαϊα πολυ συν-  
εβαλλετο εν ταις εκκλησι-  
αι[s] ευτονως γαρ τοις ιου-  
[δαι]οις δια[κατηλεγχετο] δη-  
μοσια δια[λεγομενος επι[δει-  
κνυς δια τ]ων γραφων  $\overline{\chi\rho\nu}$   
[ειναι]  $\overline{\iota\eta\nu}$  θελοντ[ος δε του  
π]αυλου κατα τη[ν ιδιαν  
βου]λη[ν πορευεσθα]ι εις ιερ-  
οσολυμα [ειπεν αυτω] το  
[ $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$  υποστρ]εφειν εις τ[ην  
ασιαν διελθων δε τα ανωτ]-  
ερικα μερ[η ε]ρχετα[ι εις εφε-  
σον] και [ειπεν τοις] μαθη-  
ταις  $\epsilon\iota\ \overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$  αγ[ι]ον ελαβ[ετε]  
πι[στευσα]ντες το  $\overline{\iota\delta\omega}$  [το]υ  
 $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$   $\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota$   $\overline{\iota\delta\epsilon}$   $\overline{\pi\rho\sigma}$   $\overline{\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron}$   
[αλλ ου]δ  $\epsilon\iota\ \overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$  αγιον λαμ-  
βα[ν]ουσιν τι[νες η]κουσα[μεν]  
ο δε παυλος προς αυ[του]ς·  
[ει]ς τι ο $\upsilon$  [εβαπτ]ισθητε· οι  
δε ελεγον εις το [ι]ωαννου  
[βαπτι]σμα ειπεν δε παυλος  
ιωαννης εβ[απτισε]ν βαπ-  
τισμα μετανοιας τω λαω λε-  
γω[ν εις τον] ερχομενον με[τ]  
αυτον ινα πιστευ[σωσιν του]τ  
εστιν εις τον  $\overline{\iota\eta\nu}$  ακου[σ]αν-  
τε[ς δε τουτο εβαπτι]σθησαν  
εις το ονομα του  $\kappa\iota\upsilon$   $\overline{\iota\eta\upsilon}$  του  
χριστου εις α[φεσιν] αμαρ-  
τιων  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  επιθεντος αυτοις  
το[υ] πα[υλου χειρα] επε[πε-  
σεν  $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$  το αγιον επ αυ[του]ς[s]  
. . . . .

βουλομενου δε αυτου διελθειν  
εις την Αχαιαν· . . . . συνε-  
βαλετο πολυ τοις πεπιστευ-  
κοσιν δια της χαριτος· ευτο-  
νως γαρ τοις Ιουδαιοις δια-  
κατηλεγχετο δημοσια  $\langle\lambda\rangle$   
επιδικνυς δια των γραφων  
ειναι τον χριστον Ιησουν.

Εγενετο δε εν τω τον Απο-  
λλω  $\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota$  εν Κορινθω Παν-  
λον διελθοντα τα ανωτερικα  
μερη ελθειν εις Εφεσον και  
ευρειν τινας μαθητας, ειπεν  
τε προς αυτους· Ει πνευμα  
αγιον ελαβετε πιστευσαν-  
τες; οι δε προς αυτον· Αλλ  
ουδ  $\epsilon\iota$  πνευμα αγιον εστιν  
ηκουσαμεν· ειπεν τε· Εις  
τι ουν εβαπτισθητε; οι δε  
ειπαν· Εις το Ιωανου βαπ-  
τισμα· ειπεν δε  $\langle\lambda\rangle$  Παν-  
λος· Ιωαννης εβαπτισεν βαπ-  
τισμα μετανοιας, τω λαω  
λεγων εις τον ερχομενον  
μετ αυτον ινα πιστευσωσιν,  
τουτ εστιν εις τον Ιησουν·  
ακουσαντες δε εβαπτισθη-  
σαν εις το ονομα του κυριου  
Ιησου· και επιθεντος αυτοις  
του Παυλου χειρας ηλθε το  
πνευμα το αγιον επ αυτους  
. . . . .

## Codex Bezae

ἐπι τοὺς ἀσθενούντας ἐπι-  
 φερεσθαι ἀπο τοῦ χρωτος  
 αὐτοῦ σουδαρία ἢ καὶ σιμι-  
 κινθία καὶ ἀπαλλασσεσθαι  
 ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὰς νόσους τὰ τε  
 πνεύματα πονηρὰ ἐκπορευεσ-  
 θαι. ἐπεχειρήσαν δὲ τινες  
 ἐκ τῶν περιερχομένων Ἰου-  
 δαίων ἐξορκιστῶν ὀνομαζέιν  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὰ πνευ-  
 ματα πονηρὰ τὸ ὄνομα κυρι-  
 οῦ Ἰησοῦ λεγόντες· Ὀρκίζω  
 ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν Πάυλος  
 κηρύσσει. ἐν οἷς καὶ υἱοὶ  
 Σκευᾶ τινος ἱερέως ἠθελήσαν  
 τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι (ἔθος εἶχαν  
 τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἐξορκίζειν), καὶ  
 εἰσελθόντες πρὸς τὸν δαιμονιζο-  
 μένον ᾠκνᾶντο ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ  
 ὄνομα λεγόντες· Παραγγέλλο-  
 μεν σοὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ ὃν Πάυλος  
 ἐξελθεῖν κηρύσσει. τότε  
 ἀπεκριθὲν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πο-  
 νηρὸν, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Τὸν <Λ>  
 Ἰησοῦν γεινώσκω καὶ τὸν  
 Παῦλον ἐπίσταμαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ  
 τινες ἐστέ; καὶ ἐναλλομένος  
 εἰς αὐτοὺς ὁ ἀνθρώπος

## Papyrus

[...] ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀσθενούν-  
 [τας ἐπιφε]ρεσθαι[ι ἀ]πο  
 τοῦ χρωτος σουδα[ρία] ἢ  
 σιμικινθ[ία κ]αὶ ἀπαλλασ-  
 σέσθαι ἀ[π] αὐτῶν τ[ας] νο-  
 σοῦ[ς τὰ τ]ε πντᾶ τὰ πονηρὰ  
 ἐ[κπορευε]σθ[αί] ἐπεχειρ[ή]σαν  
 δὲ τινες κ[αὶ] ἐκ τῶν περιερχο-  
 μένω[ν] ἰουδαίων ἐξ[ορκιστῶν]  
 ὀνομαζέιν ἐπ[ὶ] τοὺς ἔχοντ[ας]  
 τὰ πν[τ]α τὰ πον[η]ρὰ τ[ο]  
 ὀνομα τοῦ κ[ύ] ἰη[σ]υ λ[ε]γον-  
 τες] ἐξορκίζομεν ὑμᾶς τὸν  
ἰη[σ]υ ὃν [κηρυ]σσει ὁ παῦλος  
 ἐν οἷς καὶ υἱοὶ ἰ[σ]ρ[α]ήλ  
 τινος ἀρχιερέως ἠθ[ε]λ[ή]σαν  
 [τὸ ἀ]υτὸ ποιῆσαι ἔθος ἔχο-  
 ντες [ἐξορκι]ζειν τοὺς τοιου-  
 τοὺς καὶ εἰσελθο[ν]τες πρὸς  
 δαιμονιζόμενον ᾠκνᾶ[ν]το ἐπι-  
 καλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα λεγόν-  
 τες π[α]ραγγέλλομεν σοὶ ἐν  
ἰη[σ]υ ὃν παῦλος ὁ [ἀποστο]λος  
 κηρύσσει ἐξελθεῖν ἀπο[κρι-  
 θεν] δὲ τὸ πντᾶ τὸ πονηρὸν  
 εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ἰη[σ]υ γ[ι]ν[ώ]σκω  
 κα[ὶ] τὸν παῦλον ἐπίσταμαι  
 υἱ[μ]εῖς δὲ τινες ἐσ[τε] καὶ  
 ἐφαλομένος ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐ[π]  
 αὐτοὺς

## Vaticanus

ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀσθενούντας ἀπο-  
 φερεσθαι ἀπο τοῦ χρωτος  
 αὐτοῦ σουδαρία ἢ <Λ>σιμικιν-  
 θία καὶ ἀπαλλασσεσθαι ἀπ'  
 αὐτῶν τὰς νόσους, τὰ τε  
 πνεύματα τὰ πονηρὰ ἐκπο-  
 ρευεσθαι. ἐπεχειρήσαν δὲ  
 τινες καὶ τῶν περιερχο-  
 μένων Ἰουδαίων ἐξορκιστῶν  
 ὀνομαζέιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας  
 τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πονηρὰ τὸ  
 ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ λεγο-  
 ντες· Ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἰησ-  
 οῦν ὃν Πάυλος κηρύσσει.  
 ἦσαν δὲ τινος Σκευᾶ Ἰου-  
 δαίου ἀρχιερέως ἑπτα υἱοὶ  
 τοῦτο ποιοῦντες. ἀποκριθὲν  
 δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρὸν  
 εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Τὸν μὲν Ἰησ-  
 οῦν γεινώσκω καὶ τὸν Παῦ-  
 λον ἐπίσταμαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ  
 τινες ἐστέ; καὶ ἐφαλομένος ὁ  
 ἀνθρώπος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς



The most marked 'Western' portions are the paraphrastic passages, Acts 18, 27; 19, 1 and 14; yet the affiliation with Codex Bezae is continuous, 67 words being marked as agreeing with the papyrus against Vaticanus, while only 22 are similarly marked in the text of Codex Vaticanus. The real relationship will therefore be best shown by collating with Codex Bezae. The variants, with the manuscript authority for each, are as follows:

- 18, 27 [. . . . .]  $\theta\epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha$   $\alpha\chi\alpha\iota\alpha$  for  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\tau\eta\eta\alpha$   $\alpha\chi\alpha\iota\alpha\alpha$  of D d harel<sup>ms</sup> vg. cod R<sup>2</sup>; others omit here, but cf. beginning.
- 28  $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\epsilon\alpha\alpha$   $\epsilon\pi\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\alpha$  for  $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\epsilon\alpha\alpha$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\pi\iota\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\alpha$  of D d; all others have  $\epsilon\pi\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\alpha$  only.
- 28  $\chi\rho\alpha$   $\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota$   $\iota\eta\alpha$  for  $\tau\omicron\alpha$   $\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\alpha$   $\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota$   $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\alpha$  of D and  $\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota$   $\tau\omicron\alpha$   $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\alpha$   $\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\alpha$  of B and most others.
- 19, 1  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\alpha$   $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$  for  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\omega\alpha$   $\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma$   $\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma$   $\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\alpha$   $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\alpha\alpha\tau\omicron\alpha\varsigma$  of D H L P S etc., and similar, except  $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ , in B and its followers.
- 2 after  $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  adds  $\tau\omicron$   $\iota\delta\iota\omicron\alpha$   $\tau\omicron\alpha$   $\kappa\bar{\upsilon}$   $\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota$ ; no support.
- 3  $\omicron$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$   $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\alpha\alpha\tau\omicron\alpha\varsigma$ ; no complete support; see below.
- 3  $\iota\omega\alpha\alpha\alpha$  with most manuscripts against  $\iota\omega\alpha\alpha\alpha$  of D B.
- 4  $\pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  with B and most mss against  $\omicron$   $\pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  of D 3 68 105 180 Andreas-commentary and some 12 mss listed by von Soden.
- 4  $\iota\omega\alpha\alpha\alpha$ ; with most mss against  $\iota\omega\alpha\alpha\alpha$  D B.
- 4  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\alpha$   $\iota\eta\alpha$  with  $\aleph$  A B E 13 25 40 vg cop harel eth and several mss (von Soden).
- 5  $\tau\omicron\alpha$   $\kappa\bar{\upsilon}$   $\iota\eta\alpha$   $\tau\omicron\alpha$   $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\alpha$ ; no support;  $\tau\omicron\alpha$   $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\alpha$   $\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\alpha$  B etc.;  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\alpha$   $\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\alpha$   $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\alpha$  D.
- 6  $\tau\omicron\alpha$   $\pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\alpha$   $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha$ ; cf.  $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha$   $\tau\omicron\alpha$   $\pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\alpha$  D, and  $\tau\omicron\alpha$   $\pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\alpha$   $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\varsigma$  B etc.
- 6  $\pi\alpha\alpha$  for  $\tau\omicron$   $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$  of all others.
- 12 omit  $\alpha\alpha\tau\omicron\alpha$ ; without support.
- 12  $\eta$   $\sigma\iota\mu\iota\kappa\iota\alpha$  with B etc.;  $\eta$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\sigma\iota\mu\iota\kappa\iota\alpha$  D (not d) arm, and  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\sigma\iota\mu\iota\kappa\iota\alpha$  of a few minuscules and Latin mss.
- 12  $\tau\alpha$   $\pi\omicron\alpha\alpha$  with B etc. against D ( $\pi\alpha\alpha$   $\tau\alpha$ ).
- 13  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\kappa$   $\tau\omega\alpha$ ; see below.
- 13  $\tau\alpha$   $\pi\omicron\alpha\alpha$  with most mss against  $\pi\omicron\alpha\alpha$  of D ( $\pi\alpha\alpha$   $\tau\alpha$ ).

- 13 του κυ with all mss against κυριου of D\* alone.
- 13 εξορκιζομεν with few, against ορκιζω of the old uncials etc., see below.
- 13 κηρυσσει ο παυλος with Antiochian support for the article but none for the transposition.
- 14 ιουδαιου for σκευα of D and σκευα ιουδαιου of B; see below.
- 14 αρχιερεως with all against ιερεως of D.
- 14 εχοντες with harcl<sup>mg</sup> against ειχαν of D d.
- 14 εξορκιζειν τους τοιουτους with harcl<sup>mg</sup> against D d, which transpose.
- 14 δαιμονιζομενον; D prefixes the article.
- 14 after παυλος adds ο αποστολος against D d harcl<sup>mg</sup>.
- 14 κηρυσσει εξελθειν with d and harcl<sup>mg</sup> against D.
- 15 αποκριθεν δε with harcl<sup>mg</sup> B etc. against τοτε απεκριθη D, and *tunc respondens* d.
- 15 ιην; D and the Antiochian mss prefix the article; B etc. read τον μεν.
- 16 εφαλομενος with B etc. against εναλλομενος D d; εφαλομενος most mss.
- 16 ο ανθρωπος επ αυτους with ⚭ A B 13 31 40 68 73 173 180 vg.codd harcl<sup>text</sup> and several mss noted by von Soden.

Of these thirty-two variations from D, nine are in complete agreement with B, which is supported by the Alexandrian group and usually others. There are also nine readings completely without other support, and eight which find support only in part. Among the partial supporters B with others is found five times, the Antiochian mss twice, and ungrouped minuscules once. Perfect agreement with harcl<sup>mg</sup> against D is found four times. Only in two cases (spelling of ιωαννης) does the papyrus agree with practically all manuscripts against D and B.

Thus this text, which is mainly 'Western,' agrees in whole or in part with the Alexandrian text 15 times; with the Antiochian it agrees in part only twice. One variant of the papyrus has partial Alexandrian support (not including B). All four cases of special agreement with harcl<sup>mg</sup> represent errors or later changes in D.



We cannot suppose that the papyrus exhibits a contamination of 'Western' and Alexandrian readings, since that would explain only half of the variations from Codex Bezae, of which four agree with *harcl<sup>ms</sup>* and three show affiliation with Antiochian or later manuscripts. It is made evident, particularly by the partial agreements, that the papyrus represents an older text, portions of which have survived in later manuscripts. This conclusion, which might have been inferred from the age of the papyrus, carries with it two corollaries: first, that B is here an almost perfect representative of the Alexandrian text, and, secondly, that D is a very imperfect source for the 'Western,' or second-century, text. The character and frequency of the variations from D are about the same in the true 'Western' inserts, where *harcl<sup>ms</sup>* is the only other authority, as in the portion of the text to which the Alexandrian and Antiochian texts are parallel. The text of D either underwent a second revision after the date represented by the papyrus text or there have been many minor changes and adaptations. I incline to the latter view. Accordingly one must distinguish between the original 'Western' paraphrase, so-called, and these later variations. The number and character of these in this short passage are such as seriously to weaken the value of D as a source for the original text. This evidence cannot, however, be used against D when it has good Syriac or Latin support.

Neglecting later changes, we thus find two forms of the text, both current in the second century, a shorter and a longer. The longer is probably in many passages a paraphrase of the shorter text, but one has no right to assume that the shorter text is always right. An examination of some of the variants of this papyrus will serve to illustrate both sides of the question.

Acts 18, 28. The papyrus reads *δημοσια διαλεγομενος επιδεικνυς*. D inserts *και* between the two participles, while all other manuscripts omit the first participle. The reading of the papyrus is to be preferred to that of D, which is an attempt to make the sentence smoother grammatically. But *δημοσια διαλεγομενος*, 'discussing publicly,' is quite separate from *επιδεικνυς δια των γραφων*, 'proving by the Scriptures.' There is no need of connecting the thoughts by a conjunction, but if *δημοσια* be taken

with *διακατηλεγχετο* as in both the King James and the Revised English versions, then either the participles must be connected or the first one must be omitted. Both later readings can be adequately explained if the reading of the papyrus be assumed as original.

18, 28 *χρὺν εἶναι ἰην*. E and one manuscript adduced by von Soden also omit the article, perhaps accidentally, which is found with *ιησουν* in D and with *χριστον* in all other manuscripts. Also the transpositions, *τον ιησουν εἶναι χριστον* in D and *εἶναι τον χριστον ιησουν* in the others, do not seem as natural and primitive as the form in the papyrus: 'showing by the Scriptures that Christ was Jesus.' Among the Jews at that time Christ was known from the sacred writings and expected, while Jesus was unknown. It is more logical and direct to pass from the known to the unknown.

19, 1 *και ειπεν τοις μαθηταις* pap.

*και ευρων τινας μαθητας ειπεν προς αυτους* D.

*και ευρειν τινας μαθητας ειπεν τε προς αυτους* B and most

other MSS; *om τε* Antiochian MSS.

Here the papyrus has the shortest form of the text, while the others seem natural corrections upon it, caused by the lack of a previous reference to the disciples. If the Vaticanus had had the shorter form, scholars would long since have condemned the longer forms as two varieties of 'Western' paraphrase. There is still more reason for this conclusion now that the shorter form has been found in a carefully written third-century papyrus. This does however raise the question, whether it is right to assume a single 'Western' paraphrase, even after all the special variants of Codex Bezae have been removed from consideration. Some, or even many, of the peculiarities of the 'Western' text may have come in at various dates and have had a wide circulation in early times.

19, 3 *ο δε παυλος προς αυτους* pap.

*ειπεν δε* D.

*ειπεν τε* B.

*ο δε ειπεν* Ⲭ A.

*ειπεν τε προς αυτους* Antiochian and later MSS.

Here it almost seems that the longer text must be defended. The extensions added at the beginning of the dialogue caused the changes here; *προς αυτους* was crowded out because the paraphrase had added it at the beginning of verse 2. Also *τε* of most manuscripts seems a change similar to the introduction of *τε* after *ειπεν* of verse 2, which is supported chiefly by the Alexandrian tradition. Therefore the papyrus with the Antiochian tradition and other scattered support is right in retaining *προς αυτους*, while supported by **Σ** A it can be defended in reading *ο δε*. The decision whether *ειπεν* has crowded out *παυλος* or vice versa is not certain. I prefer the former, because *ειπεν* was used in the previous sentence, while the name Paul has not appeared in the nominative in this chapter.

19, 6 *του παυλου χειρα* pap.

*χειρα του Παυλου* D.

*του Παυλου χειρας* B etc.

The papyrus gives the original 'Western' text from which D shows a transposition natural to both Latin and Greek. Such unanimity in an unusual order is only possible if it was original. Whether the singular or plural of the noun was original is less certain. The other passages describing the imparting of the Holy Ghost (Acts 8, 17. 18; 13, 3) use the plural 'hands' but in each case the subject also is in the plural. In healing by the touch the singular 'hand' is much more common; yet the plural occurs twice in Matthew, and once each in Mark and Luke. In Acts the plural is used also for healing, though in 9, 2 changed to the singular by the Antiochian manuscripts. There would thus seem to be abundant reason in Acts for a scribal change from the singular to the plural, but none for the opposite change. One may, however, consider the indication of final *σ* by a stroke over the previous vowel, which is found often in the Berlin Genesis (University of Michigan Studies, vol. XXI), and errors caused there and in other early manuscripts by this practice.

19, 13 *και εκ των* pap g (the Latin version of F<sup>p</sup>) demid.

*και των* **Σ** A B E H P al <sup>30</sup> vg syr arm.

*εκ των* D 43 (31\*) g.

*απο των* L and some later mss.

*και απο των* H P and most Antiochian.



The decision here is made most uncertain by the fragmentary condition of the papyrus; *και* must be preferred to any of the alternatives because of the remnants of the letter visible, and *εκ* suits the space and is in accord with the 'Western' character of the text. A preposition is necessary to fill the space and *απο* has no authority older than the Antiochian manuscripts. All of the variants could have arisen from the reading of the papyrus, if that be accepted as the original reading, *και* being omitted in the 'Western' and *εκ* in the ancestor of the Alexandrian. The insertion of *απο* was made in a manuscript of the latter type by a scribe who felt the need of the preposition before the genitive.

- 19, 13 *εξορκιζομεν* pap 15 18 27 36 66\*\* 69 78 180 242 257  
 Andreas-commentary and others adduced by von Soden.  
*ορκιζομεν* Antiochian manuscripts.  
*ορκιζω* Ⲭ A B D E 13 25 33 35 40 73 vg cop arm.  
*εξορκιζω* 105, cf. Matt. 26, 63.

The singular of the verb has the better manuscript support but is not in accord with the plural subject of the phrase and may have been influenced by the famous passage in Matthew, as Codex 105 certainly was. Furthermore, *εξορκιζω* is the proper verb to use here according to Septuagint usage, while *ορκιζω* is more correctly used in Mark 5, 7. There is no reason why the plural form of the correct compound of the verb should not be accepted as the original reading now that it has been found in the oldest witness to the text.

- 19, 14 (a) *υιοι ιουδαιου τινος αρχιερεως* pap.  
 (b) *υιοι σκευα τινος ιερεως* D d.  
 (b<sup>1</sup>) *υιοι επτα σκευα τινος αρχιερεως* harel<sup>ms</sup>.  
 (b<sup>2</sup>) *fili Scevæ duo principis sacerdotum* gig (r sah).  
 (c<sup>1</sup>) *septem autem filii cuiusdam Scevæ Iudæi* *αρχι-ερεως* boh.  
 (c<sup>2</sup>) *septem filii viri cuiusdam Scevæ Iudæi* *αρχιερεως* syr<sup>pesh</sup>.  
 (d) (*τινες υιοι σκευα ιουδαιου αρχιερεως.*)  
 (e) *τινος σκευα ιουδαιου αρχιερεως επτα υιοι* B (180) arm  
 vg<sup>sixt</sup> codd. ap. v. Sod.

(f) *τινες υιοι σκευα ιουδαιου αρχιερεως επτα* H L P al. mult  
harc<sup>l</sup><sub>text</sub>.

(g) *τινες σκευα ιουδαιου αρχιερεως επτα υιοι* N A vg.

To use the language of Hort, this is a fine example of "Western non-interpolation," or, to express it plainly, it is a case where the Alexandrian and Antiochian recensions both have conflate readings. The original text is either (a) or (b). We may disregard the variant *ιερεως* of Codex Bezae, as it is due to the influence of the Latin parallel *sacerdotis*. Of these two primary readings (a) seems older than (b); therefore *σκευα* came in as a gloss to *ιουδαιου*, supplanting the latter in Codex Bezae and its relatives but uniting with it elsewhere. The simple combination of (a) and (b) is not found in any manuscript, but, combined with the number of the sons (seven), it appears in the two forms (c<sup>1</sup>) and (c<sup>2</sup>). These seem however to have been later in origin, for a form (d), not found in manuscripts, would naturally have arisen before the number of the sons was fixed. In this form the designation 'certain' was transferred from the father to the sons, doubtless for the same reason that caused Ropes to consider this latter form the original text. One does not need to postulate another lost form in which the number 'seven' supplants 'certain,' for seven is a favored Jewish number, which might be added to any form.

Form (e) is a simple transposition from form (c), the seven sons being placed last. Form (f) is an easy combination of (d) with (c). The number seven was put last to avoid the incompatible 'certain,' which comes first. It may well be that this form caused the transposition in (e), which could thus be explained as a combination of (c) and (f). It is certain that form (f) was much earlier than the Antiochian text, for form (g) is a combination of (f) and (e).

In (b<sup>2</sup>) there seems to be a very simple reading allied to (b), but the position of *duo* shows that it has replaced *τινος*, a change that would hardly have been thought of, unless *τινος* were already corrupted to *τινες*. The interchange of *ο* and *ε* is a common scribal error, so that this may point to the origin of forms (d), (f), and (g), for the pronoun would be transferred before *υιοι* as soon as it was made to agree with it.

The origin of most of these variants must be referred to the period when the New Testament text was still in the process of growth, when parallels and additions found in other manuscripts or even in other works were eagerly seized upon and incorporated in the text. Certainly forms (b<sup>1</sup>), (c<sup>1</sup>), and (c<sup>2</sup>) are early types, in which the number seven was inserted later, though one must not insist on a date later than the second century. Only in the case of forms (e) and (g) can one be certain that the origin did not antedate the third century.

No passage could better illustrate the variety of minor changes which the New Testament text has suffered. It also shows clearly, what has long been obvious, that the 'Western' text was not one but many, if by 'Western' we mean text of the second century. It is only when several of these agree on a reading that 'Western' evidence should be given paramount weight in settling the text.

The four agreements of the papyrus with *harel*<sup>ms</sup> against D in the pure 'Western' interpolations or paraphrases is perfect proof of the correctness of Ropes's conclusion that *harel*<sup>ms</sup> is regularly right against D or even D d.

In these Western passages two additions occur in the papyrus which find no other support:

19, 2 πιστευσαντες] + το ιδιον του κυ ειραι. With this we may compare Acts 20, 28 του αιματος του ιδιου, where the Antiochian manuscripts transpose to read του ιδιου αιματος. In that verse also the Holy Ghost has just been mentioned. In our passage the meaning seems clear; το ιδιον is used as in Aristotle's Logic to mean the characteristic property or quality. So one may translate the verse, 'Have ye received the Holy Ghost, having believed that it is the characteristic quality of the Lord.'

19, 14 παυλος] + ο αποστολος. This addition is easier, but of the same general character. Both seem rather additions by an intelligent reader than survivals of the original text, but they are excellent illustrations of the way in which the 'Western' paraphrase arose. The addition of 'the Apostle' is so natural that it is surprising that it is not found elsewhere. It is derived from the epistles of Paul and so would appeal to the early church as regular. Therefore, it would seem, it was



inserted in the immediate parent of the papyrus, which had no other descendants. If the same explanation may be applied to the other unsupported addition it would in some measure serve to substantiate the early date of the papyrus, for the other addition seems of a second-century Gnostic type.

One cannot leave this interesting fragment without calling attention to the cumulative weight of the evidence that is slowly coming to light. Every third-century fragment of the New Testament shows a 'Western' text, just as do all the church fathers before Origen. Further, all these fragments have come from Egypt, which was the home of the Alexandrian text and which should have furnished the manuscripts on which that recension was based. As the 'Western' text once existed in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Italy and all the west, it is certain that it was the current provincial text of the second and third centuries. This explains both its errors and its great variety of forms.



# THE CAREER OF THE PROPHET HERMAS

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## I

TOWARD the end of the first century the Christian church at Rome seems to have made a convert of whom it was never very proud. He was not a great man. His writings were not included in the New Testament, though they were seriously considered for it. But his book throws a flood of light on the life, the labors, the trials, the hopes, the fears of Christians at about the time when the canonical books were being selected and put together into a collection.

His name was Hermas. Though he lived in the capital city of the empire, he was not a native Roman, but had been born somewhere in the provinces, perhaps in Greece. Many futile guesses have been made as to his parents, but he probably knew as little about them as we do. They had exposed him, as the term is. He was an unwelcome child and had been left by the wayside for any one to pick up. The practice was brutal, but common in those days, and there were persons who made a business of collecting such waifs, raising them to suitable age, and selling them into slavery for what they would bring. The man who thus picked up Hermas and reared him for the trade brought him to Rome and sold him to a certain Rhoda, a lady of some wealth and refinement. Later he escaped from slavery, perhaps by earning his value and paying the money. At any rate, he set up in business for himself, prospered, and was able to marry. Before the time at which his book opens he had several grown sons.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first systematic and extensive attempt to sketch out the career of Hermas was made by Theodor Zahn, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, Gotha, 1868. It performed two fundamentally important services: (1) it insisted on the matter-of-fact reality of the many personal incidents and references, whereas previous critics had been inclined to regard the whole work as an allegorical fiction; and (2) it discredited the testimony of the Muratorian Canon, which explicitly dates the Shepherd in the days of Pius, bishop of



Then came the great turning-point in his life. He met some Christians living in Rome, and they told him things which fascinated him, though he only half understood them. A great Lord, they said, was soon to appear in the clouds of heaven and judge the world, sending the wicked to torment, but saving the good for a blessed life hereafter. Hermas did not know clearly who this Lord was. At times he was called Christ and at times he was called God, but at the start the new convert neither understood the difference nor troubled his head about it. What he did understand was that if he were good and repented of all sins, especially all sins of pleasure or self-indulgence, he would be safe in the day of judgment. So the Christians baptized him and assured him of salvation. Further they told him about a holy and divine Spirit whose influence would help to keep him saved. Thus Hermas was started on his Christian career.

Rome, about 140 A.D. With the internal chronology of the book Zahn was less successful, even going so far as to put *Sim. viii* ahead of *Vis. iii* in point of time (p. 193). In the general series of *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* by Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, the volume on *Hermas Pastor*, Leipzig, 1877, offered the Greek text as established by Gebhardt and a commentary by Harnack. It was long the best edition, but in so far as the biographical data were concerned it moved backward rather than forward from the position of Zahn. The first Vision, for example, Harnack regarded as more or less fictitious, and he accepted the late date. *Vis. ii. 4, 3* contains a reference to Clement, apparently the author of the Roman epistle to Corinth written about 95 A.D.; but this point Harnack was disposed to explain away. Later, in his *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, II. 1, p. 265, he admitted the connection as plausible. G. Salmon, art. 'Hermas,' *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, London, 1884, II, pp. 912-921, argued ably for the early date on the strength of the mention of Clement, and maintained that the book was a collection of actual dreams or of dream-like visions, dressed up somewhat for presentation in writing. See the same author's *Historical Introduction to the Books of the New Testament*, 7th ed., London, 1894, pp. 527-551. This sound and reasonable view of the Shepherd was much furthered by H. Weinel, a critic deeply versed in the modern science of psychology, who wrote the treatment of Hermas in E. Hennecke's *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, Tübingen, 1904, pp. 199-210, 217 ff., and the commentary in Hennecke's *Handbuch zu den neutestamentl. Apokryphen*, 1904, pp. 290 ff. The most brilliant characterization of Hermas that has appeared in any language is by C. Bigg, *Origins of Christianity*, Oxford, 1909, pp. 72-84. And yet, though essentially sound, it is somewhat hard and disdainful, lacking the sympathetic and appreciative touch of Weinel, whose commentary, all things considered, must be pronounced the most valuable since Harnack's. A useful summary and judgment of previous opinions is given by F. X. Funk, *Patres Apostolici*, 2nd ed., Tübingen, 1901. The most convenient edition for ready reference is by K. Lake in the *Loeb Classical Library*, 1913, where the text and a new translation of the Shepherd are printed on confronting pages.

It was the most important thing that had ever happened to him. Previously he had been engrossed in business, in making money, not always too scrupulously; but now his interest suddenly widened, and something beyond this life opened out to him. "Imagine an old man," says one of the personages in his book, "who has lost all hope for himself by reason of his weakness and his poverty, and is looking forward to nothing but the last day of his life. Suddenly an inheritance is left him. He gets the news, jumps up, and joyfully clothes himself with strength. . . . His spirit, which was broken by his former circumstances, is renewed, and he no longer sits still, but takes heart again. So was it with you when you heard the revelation that the Lord revealed to you. . . . And the Lord rejoiced to see you put on your strength" (Vis. iii. 12, 2).

Nor was this all. As he went to the meetings of the church and sang the songs and listened to the prayers and exhortations, he discovered that there were certain persons called prophets who saw visions relating to the deep things of life. Presently he found that he too could have visions, and he began to rise occasionally in the meetings and report what he had seen and heard. In the course of time he learned to cultivate trances and visions by means of fasting. The habit grew upon him, until — like some moderns who fast for less religious motives — he endangered his health; hence at a later time some of his co-religionists felt obliged to remonstrate with him. But from now on the cultivation of visions became the passion of his life, though he learned to secure them without too dangerous fasting.

When he joined the Christian community a peculiar coincidence occurred. Among the members of the church in Rome he met Rhoda, the lady who years before had owned him as a slave-boy.<sup>2</sup> One day he saw her bathing in the river Tiber, and,

<sup>2</sup> "The man who brought me up," says Hermas in his introduction, "sold me to a certain Rhoda at Rome. Many years later I met her again (*ἀνεγνωρισάμην*) and began to love her as a sister." The passage has been the cause of much discussion among critics. Some have even taken it for an imitation of the current type of Greek love-story: the author comes to Rome, a recognition occurs, and love follows. It is true that the recognition-motive (*ἀναγνωρισμός*) was a stock element in the romances of the New Comedy, as represented by Menander and imitated by Plautus and Terence; but

as she was climbing out, reached forth his hand and helped her up the bank. Seeing how beautiful she was, he thought, "How happy I should be if I had a wife like her in beauty and in character." "That is all I thought," declares Hermas, "that and nothing more." His own wife talked too much, as he intimates later, and was inclined to cherish grudges.

Some time afterward, it would seem, Rhoda died. At any rate, as Hermas was journeying southward toward Cumae, she appeared from heaven during the first vision that he has recorded in his book. The account runs thus:

As I was walking along, I fell asleep. And a spirit seized me and carried me away through a pathless region through which nobody could walk; for it was a rough piece of country, all broken into gullies by the waters. Well, I crossed that river and came to a level spot, and I knelt down and began to pray to the Lord and to confess my sins. And while I was praying the heaven was opened, and I saw that woman whom I had admired. She greeted me from heaven and said, "Good morrow, Hermas."

I said, "Lady, what are you doing here?"

She answered, "I ascended to accuse you before the Lord for your sins."

I said to her, "Are you making accusation against me now?"

"No," she said, "but hear what I am about to tell you. The God who dwells in the heavens, and who created out of what was not the things that are, and multiplied and increased them for the sake of his holy church, is angry with you because you sinned against me."

the love to which Hermas refers was of a different sort. The phrase "began to love her as a sister" means simply that he and Rhoda met again within the Christian community, in which all were regarded as loving members of a single family. The common meals were called ἀγάπαι; ἀδελφός and ἀδελφή were stated terms for the Christian man and woman respectively. Note especially 1 Cor. 9, 5: "Have we not the right to lead about a sister [i.e., a Christian woman] as wife?" See also Torrey's comments on the apposite ἀδελφοί in Acts 15, 23 (*The Composition and Date of Acts*, 1916, p. 39). But Vis. ii. 2, 3; 3, 1, show that in the mind of Hermas there was an ascetic implication in the term, and the symbolism of Sim. ix. 11, 3 reflects the peculiar and at times doubtless perilous tendency which this lofty spiritual affection might take.

From a biographical point of view the introduction makes a strange choice of facts, and the omissions seem still stranger — the failure to mention the death of Rhoda or the escape of Hermas from slavery. Certain critics therefore conclude that the original introduction has been lost. But Hermas was not constructing an orderly "vita," but preparing to explain a mystical vision; and he narrates only those things which serve his purpose. He proceeds, not indeed with literary art but with a certain deadly directness, toward the main point, giving the merest outline of facts regarding his acquaintance with Rhoda. Thus understood, his introduction leaves little to be desired, and it is not probable that anything has been lost.



I answered her, "Sin against you? In what way? Did I ever speak an unseemly word to you? Did I not always regard you as a goddess? Did I not always respect you as a sister? How could you falsely charge me with these bad, impure things?"

But Rhoda laughed and explained that it was no wicked act, but only the thought in his mind. This is one of the prominent teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, that the evil intent is as sinful in the sight of God as is the overt act. With an extensive preachment by Rhoda upon this theme the vision comes to an end.

It is a strange introduction to a Christian book. It is, in fact, the work of a new Christian, not of one old and well instructed in the faith. It likens Rhoda to a goddess — a polytheistic allusion that caused the copyists much trouble.<sup>3</sup>

The vision itself must be hallucinatory, but back of it lies an intelligible fact. Hermas had been suffering reverses. As he says later, his wealth, derived, it may be, from some retail business, perhaps in wine or oil, had been pared down. His establishment was doubtless small, but he likes to think of himself as one who has been subjected to the perils and temptations of great wealth. Now, however, he is poor, and wonders what can have so aroused God's anger against him.

This new Christian has been taught a simple religion of rewards and punishments. The thoroughly righteous man, he believes, has both a present and a future recompense. In the words of the beatified Rhoda, such a man has his glory established in the heavens, and also finds the Lord propitious in all his business. Thus Hermas is not waiting till the next life for all the benefits of his new faith. He looks for mysterious but effective assistance in the practical affairs of his ordinary daily business. This is good Jewish doctrine of the kind that the great prophets drove ineradicably into the consciousness of their

<sup>3</sup> Vis. i. 1, 7. Codex Sinaiticus has *θεάν*, supported by the older Latin version. Codex Athous, which shows a consistent tendency to make Hermas appear less pagan toward the beginning and more orthodox toward the end than he probably was, reads *θυγατέρα*, 'daughter.' The Ethiopic has 'my mistress,' standing presumably for *κυρίαν*. Hilgenfeld (1881) suggests an improvement that the ancient scribes never thought of, namely, *θελαν*, 'eine Tante.' The references to Cumae and the Sibyl caused the copyists a similar uneasiness.

race. The First Psalm is its classic exposition, while the Book of Job is a sublime protest that the doctrine does not fit life. But those who appreciate Job have in all ages been few, and Hermas is not among them. He has caught that simple dogmatism of the prophets, that first elementary assertion of the moral significance of life: piety spells prosperity; wickedness, adversity. And like the counselors of Job he believes that he can read the formula either backwards or forwards. Some kind of business failure having overtaken him, he concludes that he must have sinned; being especially sensitive on the subject of sex, he at first imagines that God is charging up against him that passing thought concerning Rhoda.

The opening vision therefore, strange and fanciful though it seems at first, is the pictorial representation of the struggles of a simple soul over a real problem. Its effect is disheartening. If this little undeveloped sin, which existed in thought alone and hardly even in that, has been charged up against him, what can he hope to do about his "grown-up sins," which exist in word and act? As his mind worked over the question, a more consoling idea struck him. Perhaps his troubles were due to the sins of his sons, which he had never successfully rebuked. Although fond of his children, he had been far too easy-going with them, and they had become terribly corrupted. This might be the reason why the Lord had brought upon him such losses, with the hope of strengthening him in the daily reproof of his sons until they should repent and be enrolled with other Christians in the books of life.

These new ideas are set forth in a new vision, in which Hermas converses with another dream-figure, an elderly woman holding a book and sitting on a white chair. This, as he understands it, is the Sibyl, that heathen priestess who presided over the temple of Apollo at Cumae and dispensed oracles to those who consulted her. About a year later some of his fellow Christians criticized Hermas for thus introducing a heathen prophetess into his book. Accordingly at that time he receives a little supplementary vision in which a good-looking young man explains that this elderly woman with white hair is not the Sibyl at all, but a personification of the Church (Vis. ii. 4, 1). The

Church she therefore becomes in the subsequent writings of Hermas, and the Sibyl disappears from his pages. He is commendably open to suggestion.

It is a curious impression that these early visions make on us. We see what strange material the Christian church of this period had to work with. Here is a man, brought up as a foundling and sold as a slave, possessed of little education and no great intellectual endowment, who might as a heathen always have remained in trade or business; but in the greater spiritual freedom of Christianity he finds a new opportunity for self-expression and aspires to become a seer and a prophet.

## II

And now another great event occurs in the life of Hermas. His earliest revelations have dealt with personal and family affairs. He has puzzled over his own sins and over his sons' sins and over the faults and shortcomings of his wife. The prophet, though not young in years, was young in his office, and juvenilia are wont to be self-centred. But now something occurs to carry him out of himself. It is the persecution of the church by the emperor Domitian.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The date of Hermas is commonly discussed as if it were a single point in time, whereas nothing can be plainer than that the book grew by a process of accretion during a number of years. On the strength of the reference to Clement in *Vis.* ii. 4, 3, Zahn, Salmon, and Bigg have argued for a date about 95 A.D., and have refused to accept the external testimony of the Muratorian Fragment — a tradition that seems to be repeated with slight variations in the Liberian Catalogue of the bishops of Rome and in the anonymous *Carmina adv. Marcionem* iii. 294 f. The date about 140 is no longer commonly defended; see, for example, B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, London, 1924, p. 528: "Personally, in view of the arguments of Salmon and Bigg I incline to date Hermas c. 100, and to regard the statement in the Muratorian Canon as a by-product of anti-Montanist polemic." Nevertheless, the references to persecution, especially in *Sim.* ix. 28, reflect just such a situation as prevailed under Trajan — Christians haled into court and tried for their faith as such. Hence the authors of the three most important commentaries on Hermas — Harnack, Funk, and Weinel — hold that he wrote during or after the time of Trajan, probably after 111 or 112, when Pliny in Bithynia asked the emperor's instructions as to the treatment of Christians. But the deadlock is not hopeless; both parties are probably right. It is the Visions that contain the reference to Clement; these therefore belong almost certainly under Domitian. It is the *Similitudes*, particularly viii and ix, that reflect such conditions as are set forth in the letters of Pliny and of Ignatius; and these therefore may be dated, though with somewhat less certainty, under Trajan.

Toward the end of his life that ruler became almost insane with fear and suspicion. In 93 A.D. one of his generals led a conspiracy against him, and though it was unsuccessful it left Domitian a changed man. He never trusted any one again. Right and left on the merest suspicion he arrested members of the Roman nobility. Many were executed, and none felt safe. Being in need of money, he turned his attention also to the Jews, from whom he extracted large sums. From the Jews the persecution seems to have spread to the Christians, who on principle refused to share in the public worship of the emperor. He took himself with unbelievable seriousness, requiring to be addressed as "Our Lord and our God," and the deeper-thinking Christians felt a fundamental, unescapable antagonism between the demands of their religion and the demands of the state. Such is the attitude of that most noteworthy of all the apocalypses, the Revelation of John, which interprets the crisis as the beginning of the end, the prelude to the day of judgment, the sign of the near coming of Christ in glory.

Hermas was caught by this enthusiasm, and it swept him out of his own little round of personalities. He worked up a vision to present to the church as a whole, a vision designed to strengthen the faith of the members in face of the trials that were upon them. It is much more elaborate and dignified than any of his previous efforts, and yet the childish inexperience of the author still betrays itself. The introduction reads like a well-told ghost story.

He has been fasting often and praying to the Lord to grant him another revelation. The same elderly lady with the white hair appears to him in a dream and says: "Since you are so eager and importunate to know everything, come into the field where you are making grits, and about eleven o'clock I will appear and will show you what you ought to see" (Vis. iii. 1, 2).

At this point the effect of the miraculous is heightened by the fact that she reads his thoughts. For when Hermas asks what part of the field he shall be in, she says, "Wherever you choose"; and while he is mentally picking out a certain suitable and retired spot, before he has time to mention it she declares, "I will come *there*, where you wish." He counted up the hours and was



on hand about eleven in the morning. Presently she appeared, and the substance of the vision was as follows.

He saw a great tower being built upon the waters, and it was made out of square stones all glistening white. The work was carried on by six men in the prime of life. Countless other men were bringing up stones from sea and land to add to the structure. Some of the stones were cracked, some mildewed, some too short, some too round; but as many as were suitable, or could be made so, were set in place in the tower, and they all fitted so perfectly that no joints could be detected.

This, as it proves, is an allegory, and after more importuning from Hermas the elderly woman explains it. The tower is the church, and the stones are the individual Christians. Its foundation on the waters represents the rite of baptism. The countless men bringing in the stones are angels, and the six chief builders are the six first-created archangels. The perfect fitting together of the stones symbolizes the ideal unity of the church.

Such is the main outline, though the vision contains much more.<sup>5</sup> The chief point is that the building is almost completed, and that those who wish to be included must repent and be baptized at once or lose their chance forever.

The expectations of the end of the age were not fulfilled. Domitian died, recalled from office by assassination. His successor, Nerva, was a mild and reasonable man who at once put a stop to persecutions and accusations for religious belief. Prisoners awaiting trial and probable execution were released, and exiles called back to their homes. It may well be that the next vision of Hermas reflects this sudden change.

"I was going to a field by the Campanian Road," he says; "it is about a mile from the main highway, and the place is

<sup>5</sup> Of especial interest are the very pointed allusions to ecclesiastical strife in Vis. iii. 9, 2. 7-10. The selfish ambitions of the leaders of the church are scathingly rebuked. If directed against the Roman presbyters, the passage lacks tact, to say the least. But if Vis. iii is really contemporaneous with 1 Clement, the warnings take on another significance. Hermas probably heard the letter to the Corinthians read before the Roman congregation, was impressed with the gravity of the schism in Corinth, and felt moved to do his part also toward correcting the situation. It was, indeed, just at this time that his ambition became world-wide; Vis. ii. 4, 2 sets forth a plan to make known these revelations to "all the elect."

rarely traveled" (Vis. iv. 1, 2). Here he prays to the Lord for further revelations, and a reassuring voice exhorts him not to be of doubtful mind. This Christian "Integer Vitae" then continues:

And I went on a little, brethren, and behold, I saw a cloud of dust rising as if to heaven. And I began to say to myself, "Can this be some cattle coming and raising a cloud of dust?"

It was now about two hundred yards away from me. As the cloud of dust grew bigger and bigger, I suspected it was something supernatural. The sun shone out a little, and then I saw that it was the biggest beast — like some sea-monster. And fiery locusts were coming out of its mouth. The beast was about a hundred feet long, and its head was like a piece of pottery.

And I began to cry and beg the Lord to rescue me from it, and then I remembered what the voice had said: "Do not be doubtful-minded, Hermas."

So, brethren, I put on the faith of the Lord and remembered the great things that he had taught me, and taking courage I faced the beast. By now the beast was coming on with such a rush as could have destroyed a city! I came near to it, and that huge monster stretched itself out on the ground and did nothing but stick out its tongue, and never moved at all till I got past it.

About thirty feet farther on he met a lady in white, with white hair. This he knew to be the personified Church, and he felt more cheerful. They greeted each other, and she inquired if he had not met something. "Lady," he replied, "I met such a big beast — one that could destroy whole peoples. But by the power of the Lord and by his great mercy I escaped it." Then follows a long exhortation to the other church-members to be as strong in the faith as was Hermas.

There can be no doubt that the huge beast represents the imperial power of Rome, which was fully capable of destroying whole cities and peoples. But the literal details of the prophet's encounter with the authorities can never be recovered with certainty from this symbolism. It seems likely that he had been imprisoned during the last days of the tyrannical Domitian and had expected to lose his life, but had been suddenly released when Nerva came to the throne. In the words of Hermas, the beast lay down on the ground and merely put out its tongue at him. One may smile at the crude and childish imagery, but plainly the matter was serious to the prophet.

## III

At this point comes a sharp break in the book. There are no more visions — at least, nothing bearing that name. Instead we have an apocalypse (commonly referred to as Vision v) introducing a set of twelve Mandates, or Christian commandments apparently intended to match in some way the ten commandments of the Old Testament. Then follow ten parables (commonly cited as Similitudes), some of which are very long and rambling. The Visions were originally designed for oral presentation; their publication in book form was something of an afterthought. But the Mandates and the Similitudes show every indication of having been literary creations from the start. They are unquestionably by the same mystical prophet, and they often show vision-like qualities, as if some dream or trance lay at the basis of them, but they are no longer addressed directly to the “brethren.”

The most striking difference between the two parts is in the mediators of revelation. Visions i-iv contain a total of four revealers (if the aged lady as the Sibyl and the aged lady as the Church are counted separately), delivering ten distinct revelations. But Vision v introduces a new revealer, the Shepherd, who dominates the rest of the work and has given his name to the entire book. At his first appearance, and at a single sitting, he delivers Vision v and the twelve Mandates, a mass of material greater than the first four Visions taken together.

There are other differences. Throughout the Visions there were abundant personal and family references, not only to the prophet's wife and sons, but also to Rhoda, Maximus, Clement, and Grapte. The indications of place and time were also rather exact: Cumae, the prophet's house, the Campanian road; “the same time as the previous year,” “fifteen days later,” “about the fifth hour,” “that very night,” “twenty days after the former vision.” In the second part of the book all this is changed. There are no proper names of persons — unless it be Michael in Sim. viii. 3, 3. Only three references are made to the author's sons or household (Mand. ii. 7; v. 1, 7; xii. 3, 6), and his wife seems to disappear altogether. The indications of time

are vague. After the Shepherd's first session the interval between his revelations is usually indicated, if at all, by the phrase "after a few days" (Sim. vii. 1, 1; viii. 4, 1; viii. 11, 5; ix. 5, 5). One possible exception may be found in Sim. ix. 11, 7, where it is stated that Hermas remained with the virgins, or personified Virtues, until the second hour of the next day. (This chapter, aside from its allegorical significance, seems to reflect also that peculiar training in asceticism which was practised by some of the early Christians.) Most of the places also lack definiteness. Apart from the prophet's house, the only place specifically named is at the beginning of Sim. ix, the expanded version of the allegory of the tower (first found in Vis. iii). Hermas is led away to Arcadia, to a rounded hill; but the landscape turns out to be idealized, conventional, manifestly constructed to serve the purposes of prophetic symbolism.<sup>6</sup>

One ever-present revealer, the Shepherd; one proper name of a person, the angel Michael; one definite note of place, a mountain in Arcady; one definite note of time, in the allegory of spiritual love — how different this all is from the first part of the book. We are no longer moving in an atmosphere of real trances and visions, but in a realm of pure allegory, of literary artifice and invention. To be sure, even in the Mandates and Similitudes numerous passages occur in which the every-day experiences of Hermas can be detected. But as a rule these

<sup>6</sup> Some critics, it is true, have seen here a reflection of actual Arcadian scenery. "Mr. Mahaffy reports (*Rambles in Greece*, p. 330, 2nd ed.) that the scenery he [Hermas] describes is such as may be witnessed in Arcadia, and is not to be seen in the neighbourhood of Rome" (Salmon, 'Hermas,' *Dict. of Christian Biography*, London, 1884, p. 920). J. Rendel Harris, 'Hermas in Arcadia,' *Journal of Biblical Literature*, June 1887, pp. 69-83, makes out a remarkable case for at least two of the twelve mountains, but recognizes that many, if not most, of the others are artistic creations of Hermas for didactic-allegorical purposes. Harris finds the language of Hermas in close correspondence with that of Pausanias's description of the region around Orchomenos. Though the case is very skilfully presented, the connections with Pausanias seem more than dubious. The dates entirely forbid the supposition that Hermas had read the *Itinerary*. But he may have been in Arcadia at some time. It is a shrewd guess of J. Armitage Robinson, *Collation of the Athos Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas*, 1888, pp. 30 ff., that Hermas was brought up in that vicinity. This is a much better explanation of the visit to Arcadia than the theory of Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 33, that it is modelled on some Hermetic document now lost. D. Völter, *Die apostolischen Väter*, Leyden, 1904, thinks the Arcadian scenery better suits the plain of Pheneos than that of Orchomenos.



are incidental; they do not affect the general framework of the composition. For the most part the earlier simplicity and directness are gone.

So marked is the division that various critics have offered hypotheses of interpolation, redaction, or divided authorship.<sup>7</sup> But Sim. ix. 1, 1-3 expressly contradicts any such theory; it gives the author's own summary of his prophetic career, and it includes the Visions. No recent critic seems to believe in a multiplicity of authors, and it is difficult to see how anyone thoroughly familiar with the book could do so. The second

<sup>7</sup> The suggestion that the Visions were written by the apostolic Hermas of Rom. 16, 14, and the rest of the book by the brother of Pius, seems to have been made independently by Thiersch, *Die Kirche im apostolischen Zeitalter*, Frankfurt and Erlangen, 1858, pp. 352 ff., and by de Champagny, *Les Antonins*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1863, I, p. 144, followed by D. Guéranger, *St. Cécile et la Société Romaine aux deux premiers siècles*, 2nd ed., 1874, pp. 132 ff., 197 ff. Haussleiter, 'De versionibus Pastoris Hermæ latinis,' in *Acta seminarii philologici erlangensis*, 1884, III, pp. 423 ff., assigned the Visions to a later date than the Shepherd proper. A. Hilgenfeld, *Hermæ Pastor*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1881 (an entirely different work from his editions of 1853, 1856, 1873), pp. 138 ff., suggested three different authors, making another division between Sim. vii and Sim. viii. Spitta, 'Studien zum Hirten des Hermas,' in *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums*, Göttingen, 1896, II, pp. 241-437, believes the basal work to have been Jewish, but with large Christian redactions; and in this he was followed by D. Völter, *Die Visionen des Hermas*, Berlin, 1900; *Die apostolischen Väter*, Leyden, 1904, I, pp. 170 ff.; *Die älteste Predigt aus Rom*, Leyden, 1908, pp. 60-69; and Völter's pupil, H. A. van Bakel, *De Compositie van den Pastor Hermæ*, Amsterdam, 1900. H. von Soden, in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, XXII, 1897, pp. 584-587, threw out the suggestion that Hermas had passed through first a Jewish and then a Christian stage; whereas the anonymous *Antiqua Mater: A Study of Christian Origins*, 1887, had denied that there was anything Christian about the book. Weinle, in Hennecke's *Handbuch zum Neutest. Apokryphen*, commenting on Vis. v, propounded a theory not of divided authorship but of divided personality. Grosse-Brauckmann, *De compositione Pastoris Hermæ*, Göttingen, 1910, finding no possibilities left in the way of redactors, interpolators, or separate authors, conceived the novel idea that Hermas had revised himself, the original visions having been applicable to the prophet and his immediate family but expanded for presentation to the church at large. Jean Réville, *Le valeur du témoignage historique du Pasteur d'Hermas*, Paris, 1900, defended the unity of authorship, but regarded the prophet's family as symbolizing the church at Rome, and the various other persons as standing for abstract qualities. K. D. Macmillan, 'The Interpretation of the Shepherd of Hermas,' in *Biblical and Theological Studies by the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary*, Princeton, 1912, pp. 492-543, reverted to the theory that the Shepherd is an edifying fiction. A. Link, *Die Einheit des Pastor Hermæ*, Marburg, 1888, and still more effectively P. Baumgärtner, *Die Einheit des Hermasbuchs*, Tübingen, 1889, defended the unity of authorship on grounds of style and vocabulary. The fact is so self-evident that these arguments ought to have been superfluous, but the history of the interpretation of the book shows that they were not.

section displays the same habits of mind, the same agglutinative style of composition, and many of the same special interests that appear in the Visions. There are changes, profound and unmistakable, but they are not such as to suggest composite authorship. There is but one Hermas in all the world.

Three reasons are discernible for the change in the character of the book. For one thing, Hermas had prophesied the speedy end of the world, and it had not come to pass. That by itself would not permanently discredit a prophet; there are always ways of explaining such accidents; and amongst the classes easily caught by eschatological enthusiasm memory is short and the lessons of history are never learned. Yet even in such company a set of explicit predictions which had failed might well place a temporary check upon the prophet. If he had ridden to prominence on the wave of the Domitianic crisis, the sudden receding of that wave would leave him stranded for the time being.

Moreover the prominence of Hermas had never been very great. The officials of the Roman church must have felt the crudities and oddities of the man, and were inclined to discourage him in spite of his claim to speak by divine inspiration and authority. Near the beginning of the third Vision occurs a little scene that reflects his struggles to obtain public recognition. Out in the corner of the field where he was to meet the white-haired lady he saw an ivory settee with a linen cushion and a fine linen cover over it. This is evidently the seat on which the presiding elders of the church were wont to sit during the public services, but at first no person is in sight. At this Hermas trembles, his hair stands on end, and he is stricken with terror; but a season of prayer and confession of sins restores him. This, if it means anything in real life, must be a reproduction of his feelings when he was first allowed to deliver one of his visions before the congregation. It is an excellent description of stage-fright.

The elderly lady, representing the church, now comes on the scene, and presently she bids him sit down on the seat. The narrative continues:

So when I was starting to sit down on the right-hand side, she would not let me, but motioned with her hand to me to sit on the left. Then, as I was thinking about that and feeling hurt because she would not let me sit on the right, she said to me, "Are your feelings hurt, Hermas? The place on the right is for others, for those who have already been well-pleasing to God and have suffered for the sake of the Name [i. e., the martyrs]. But you are still far from sitting with them. But continue in your pure and simple life as you are doing, and you shall come to sit with them. . . . But both [the martyrs and the ordinary Christians], whether they sit on the right or on the left, have the same gifts and the same promises, only the former sit on the right and have a certain glory. And you are very anxious to sit on the right, but your shortcomings are many. But you shall be purified of your shortcomings."

One can fairly see the church officials — perhaps the politic and urbane Clement among them — trying to be kind to the poor man and to console him for a certain tardiness in the recognition of his prophetic gift: all have the same reward in heaven.

Vis. ii. 4, 3 had outlined a plan for spreading these revelations over the Christian world. Clement was to receive a copy to be sent to foreign cities; from another copy Grapte, evidently a leading deaconess, was to read to the widows and orphans; Hermas himself was to read a copy in the city of Rome with the elders who presided over the church. Apparently this dream came true, at least in part. But the realization was not quite what Hermas had hoped for. Not merely did he find it distressing to stand and speak before the whole congregation, but he was disappointed in his desire to "sit on the right and have a certain glory."

The church was right. One who has studied Hermas attentively may sympathize with him in his struggles for recognition. One may pity his reverses and admire his perseverance against odds. One may approve of his moral earnestness, his investigative spirit, and his willingness to learn. Yet the instinct of the officials of the Roman church was right. If such men as Hermas had become the real leaders of Christianity, if such books as his had made up the New Testament, the church could hardly have survived. For the intellectual quality of its leadership has been one large secret of Christianity's success.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> In the community in which the book was composed the crudity and oddity of it must have been felt for a considerable time after the author's death. Thus some fifty years later the Muratorian Canon seems to show the officials of the Roman church

Here, then, are two causes that would naturally alter the character of the prophet's work. The cessation of the Domitianic persecution left him like a politician without an issue. At the same time Roman officialdom probably found the occasion opportune for discouraging him from further public appearances. Thus he was driven in upon himself, and seems to have turned definitely from the spoken to the written medium of expression. In the second part of his book there is no indication that he ever addressed the general Roman congregation again.

A third cause for his change of manner probably lies in his increasing acquaintance with other books of the prophetic type — revelation-literature, or apocalyptic as it is technically called. An enormous amount of this was produced by pagan, Jewish, and Christian writers during this period. The Apocalypse of John, called forth by this same Domitianic persecution, though decidedly one of the finest of such books is far from standing alone. Hermas at one point mentions the apocalypse of "Eldad and Modat," now lost (Vis. ii. 3, 4). And from a pagan revelation of about this date he is thought by some to have borrowed the figure of the Shepherd that dominates the second part of the book.

At any rate, this section gives definite evidence of a striving after literary form. The Mandates are constructed with a certain crude symmetry, most of them ending with a sort of refrain, an assurance that he who observes this commandment shall "live to God" (a peculiar Hermaic phrase for the life to come). The entire collection is rounded out with an introduction (Vis. v)<sup>9</sup> and a conclusion (Mand. xii. 3, 2 ff.). Moreover, the vagueness as to persons, places, and dates is a mark of an

maintaining the same attitude as had prevailed during his life. The assertion of his late date is merely a prelude to the declaration: "And so it is fitting that he should be read; but on the other hand he cannot be read publicly in the church before the people — neither among the prophets, for their number is complete, nor among the apostles — to the end of time." Not until it reached Alexandria and fell into the hands of the allegorists did the Shepherd really come into its own.

<sup>9</sup> Vis. v, in fact, resembles a modern preface in that a part of it must have been written after the completion of the Mandates and some of the Similitudes. The addition probably begins in the middle of verse 5 with *πρῶτον πάντων* (repeated in Mand. i. 1).



elevated literary style as practised in that age. This, as Turner has pointed out, is one of the ways in which Matthew and Luke have tried to improved the style of their Markan source. "Persons, places, numbers: Mark is no rhetorician and is full of all three; Matthew and Luke are in nearer touch with the literary habits and presuppositions of their time, and tend, irregularly no doubt and so in a sense capriciously, to improve on their exemplar by omitting them."<sup>10</sup>

#### IV

It is some twenty years since Reitzenstein offered the suggestion that Hermas had borrowed his Shepherd from the Poimandres, the first and presumably the earliest of that small collection of pagan religious documents ascribed by the ancients to Hermes Trismegistus and hence known to modern scholars as the 'Corpus Hermeticum.'<sup>11</sup> This striking and suggestive hypothesis was received by other scholars with scepticism.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> C. H. Turner, 'Marcan Usage: Notes, Critical and Exegetical, on the Second Gospel,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1925, p. 338. In support of the principle that "the tendency of an educated writer of ancient times would be to omit numbers," Turner refers to the observations of the Jesuit scholar Delehaye concerning Sulpicius Severus as the biographer of St. Martin. The "incohérences de sa chronologie" are so great that by critical emendations or recombinations the date of St. Martin has been variously assigned to 395, 396, 397, 399, 400, 401, 402 (H. Delehaye, 'Saint Martin et Sulpice Sévère,' in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXVIII, Brussels, 1920, p. 19). Biography at that time had little interest in historical detail, and aimed rather at exalting its hero and presenting him pragmatically as a model of conduct for others to follow. Hence the "dédain de la chronologie" shown by Severus, and in general the "procédé de ces biographies de l'antiquité à qui une date ou un calcul précis semble être une faute contre l'élégance" (p. 82). They tended to be sparing of the names of persons and places and to avoid giving exact details.

<sup>11</sup> R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres: Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 11-13, 38-35.

<sup>12</sup> Zielinski, 'Hermes und die Hermetik,' in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, VIII, pp. 321-372; IX, pp. 25-60, is enthusiastic over Reitzenstein's discovery, and adds a venturesome conjecture or two of his own (VIII, p. 323, n. 1). Wilhelm Kroll, art. 'Hermes Trismegistus,' *Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie*, VIII, col. 822, line 47, expresses a belief in a common source for Hermas and the Poimandres, but gives no reasons. G. Bardy, 'Le Pasteur d'Hermas et les Livres Hermétiques,' *Revue Biblique*, N. S. VIII, 1911, pp. 391-407, is unconvinced by Reitzenstein, as are H. Weinel, in Hennecke's *Handbuch zu den neutest. Apokryphen*, pp. 422 f.; Dibelius, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXVI, July 1905, pp. 170-175; Krebs, *Der Logos als*

Since it was held to fall short of definite proof, almost no attempt was made to see what light, if it were accepted, it would throw upon the interpretation of *Hermas*. Most critics have been content to note that both of the documents in question are of the apocalyptic type; that both take their title from the name of the revealer; that both revealers undergo a mystical process of transformation before their true character is known; and that, whereas the Christian revealer is called *ὁ ποιμήν* ('the Shepherd'), the pagan revealer bears the mysterious title *ὁ ποιμάνδρης*, which may be a mere high-sounding amplification of the Greek word for 'shepherd.'<sup>13</sup> A complete discussion

Heiland, p. 139; Heinrici, *Die Hermes-mystik und das Neue Testament*, pp. 5 f.; and W. Scott, *Hermetica*, Oxford, 1925, II, p. 15, note 2.

<sup>13</sup> No explanation offered is free from serious difficulties. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 12, interprets the name as 'Menschenhirt.' But in the document itself there is not a word about sheep or shepherds. Also the racial idea involved in 'shepherd of man' or 'shepherd of men' ought to be expressed by a derivative of *ἄνθρωπος*, not of *ἄνθρω*. The word might be a poetical elaboration of *ποιμήν*, meaning something like 'noble shepherd,' as does the Aeschylean *ποιμάνωρ* made up from the same roots (Pers. 421). But unfortunately the Greek derivatives from *ἄνθρω* seem never to end in *-άνδρης*, the nearest approach being the name *Ποίμανδρος*, the legendary founder of Tanagra in Boeotia (Paus. ix. 20, 1; Plutarch, *Quaest. Gr.* 37, p. 299; cf. Walter Scott, *Hermetica*, Oxford, 1925, II, p. 15, note 1). Hence two non-greek etymologies have been proposed: *p<sup>h</sup>m<sup>n</sup>trē*, the Coptic equivalent of the Egyptian term for 'the witness' (Frank Granger, 'The Poemander of Hermes Trismegistus,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, V, April 1904, pp. 395-412); and *p-eime-n-re*, the Coptic for 'the knowledge of Re' (Scott, II, p. 16, reporting the suggestion as coming from F. Ll. Griffith). The insertion of the *δ* would be euphonic merely, and the recurring appositive *ὁ τῆς αὐθεντίας νοῦς* would be a fairly apt translation of the Coptic. This is admirable until one considers the articles. In the Greek document it is always 'the Poimandres' (except the one vocative in § 16, 'O Poimandres'). But in Coptic the first syllable 'p' is itself the article. Thus a curious reduplication results, as if one should say 'the hoi polloi' (as the imperfectly educated sometimes do) or 'the la belle France.' To be sure, Fulgentius the mythographer did just this with the Greek when he spoke of "the book of Opimandres" (Helm's edition, p. 26, line 18). But the author of the Hermetic document appears to have been better educated than Fulgentius, and also by hypothesis he knew the derivation of the word he was using.

The author of Corp. Herm. xiii. 19 apparently connected the name with the idea of shepherding, *ποιμαίνει ὁ νοῦς*; but since this thirteenth document is unquestionably later than the first (cf. Scott, II, p. 373), it gives no necessary indication as to what the earlier writer had in mind. *Hermas* — if one accept his testimony at all — seems to favor a Greek derivation. He sets the word *ἄνθρω* in the very forefront of his description in Vis. v. 1, as if he understood the name 'Poimandres' to mean 'shepherd-man,' like *ποιμάνωρ*. But what *Hermas* understood throws very little light on what the original author of Corp. Herm. i may have intended.

of the problem would require many pages and would involve the question of Hermas's dependence on other documents besides the Poimandres, but for a proper understanding of his career there is one point which is essential. If the supposition of Reitzenstein could be allowed, the most obscure passage in the whole of Hermas would be instantly illumined.

That passage is the transfiguration of the Shepherd in Vision v. He enters with a white skin thrown about him, a pack on his shoulders, and a staff in his hand. After the usual salutations he remarks, "I was sent by the most august angel [evidently Christ] to dwell with you the rest of the days of your life." Strangely enough Hermas is suspicious, and imagines his visitor to be tempting him (*ἔδοξα ἐγὼ ὅτι πάρεστιν ἐκπειράζων με*, Vis. v. 3). A curious colloquy ensues:

"Who pray are you?" said I. "For I know the one to whom I was entrusted."

Said he, "Don't you know me?"

"No," said I.

"I," said he, "am the Shepherd to whom you were entrusted."

While he was yet speaking, his appearance was changed, and I recognized him as that one to whom I had been entrusted. At once I felt confused, fear seized me, and I was all cut up with grief because I had answered him so wickedly and foolishly.

But he answered and said to me, "Do not be confused, but rather be strong in my commandments which I am about to command you."

Why Hermas should regard his visitor as a tempter, a messenger of evil, perhaps the evil one himself, is a point that no commentator even undertakes to explain. To be sure, *ἐκπειράζειν* sometimes means nothing more than to 'test,' or 'investigate.' But it is not so used in Mand. iv. 3, 6 or xii. 5, 4, nor will so mild a meaning answer here. The subsequent repentance of Hermas for his false suspicion is violent: he is thrown into confusion, fear takes hold of him, and he is overcome with grief that he had answered so wickedly and foolishly. This is outrageous bombast if he had merely thought his visitor to be 'testing' or 'investigating' him. But to have mistaken one's guardian angel for the devil — that might indeed seem wicked and foolish, a cause for fear and grief.

Reitzenstein held that the whole transfiguration was a mere "meaningless masquerade," a scene ineptly modelled on the

transfiguration in the Poimandres. But it is possible to go deeper than that. The visions of Hermas are fantastic and mystical, it is true, but they are seldom without some definite significance, and they commonly reflect in symbolical form his own experiences. This most puzzling of all his visions may be nothing but a mystical record of the most momentous crisis in his prophetic career, namely, his change of attitude toward the Poimandres.

The pagan origin of that document can hardly have been a secret, and to the stricter Christians, especially those with an inheritance of Jewish exclusiveness behind them, that would have been sufficient to condemn it. Yet the tract itself is singularly noncommittal. It contains not a trace of heathen mythology. Although it includes several philosophic myths in which such figures as Nature and the ideal Man play their part, not one of the gods of Greece or Rome is mentioned. How the revealer came to be regarded as Hermes is one of the chief unsolved problems of the *Hermetica*.<sup>14</sup>

The Poimandres is a theosophy, it is true, but of a noble type. The method of redemption proposed is singularly refined and elevated, being more exclusively spiritual than that of Christianity itself. There are no bloody sacrifices to perform, no propitiation of demons, no mystical or magical rites of purification or initiation. In this form of religion salvation is attainable only by acquiring the right knowledge regarding God, the world, and human destiny. And this knowledge comes to men, not by searching if haply they may find it, but by a process of divine revelation such as the document describes. Toward the close the author, in reviewing his experience, observes:

So the body's sleep had proved the soul's awaking, and the shutting of the eyes true sight, and my silence big with good, and the burial of the reason the birth of good things.

After his vision the Hellenistic seer goes out to engage in the

<sup>14</sup> One may even suspect that the use of the Poimandres by Hermas (if this be admitted as likely) had something to do with the case; cf. the supposition of Burkitt (note 27, below) as to how the Manichees came to use the Shepherd. The genitive of Hermas is identical with that of Hermes, and *ὁ Ποιμήν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ* and *ὁ Ποιμάνδρης τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ* having become confused, the latter might easily be taken to refer to the god. But this is all highly conjectural.



then familiar occupation of street-preaching, becoming a "guide to the human race, teaching them how and in what manner they should be saved" (Poim. 29). The knowledge which God has vouchsafed to him he thus devotes, as he says in his closing prayer, to the enlightenment of "those of the race who are in ignorance — my brothers, sons of Thee" (Poim. 32).

In such a work there was much to impress and attract a man like Hermas. Its pagan origin need not have disturbed him; he was of pagan origin himself. Of course much of the thinking in the tract is confused: terms are used ambiguously, philosophical abstractions are personified, analogies mistaken for concrete things; God is spoken of at once as intelligence and as light; darkness is identified with ignorance and death. But none of these things would move Hermas; he had himself done worse. Nay, the very mysticism of it might appeal to him, though the loftier elements of its teaching would pass over his head.

We must avoid too abstract a view of the case. The question is not one of literary imitation in the ordinary sense. A mystical, non-critical reader would not be so much concerned about the Poimandres *document* as about the Poimandres himself. In any case the document would appear as the record of a real event, and the revealer as a real personality, not indeed of flesh and blood but of the spirit. The absorbing question would be whether he represented spiritual truth or spiritual falsehood, spiritual righteousness or spiritual wickedness in high places. To call the Poimandres a Christian work would not mean to Hermas (as to us) that it found its logical place in a clearly defined stream of historical religious development, but that it was *true*, and that its chief figure — whose reality in any case was not in question — was *divine*. If this imposing Shepherd should begin to intrude himself into the prophet's dreams, it would be a matter of life and death to decide whether he came as an emissary of evil or was sent from God.

Opinions would naturally divide. To the "good-looking young man" who had protested against the Sibyl (Vis. ii. 4, 1) this Poimandres would seem equally dangerous and subversive, and for a time Hermas seems to have accepted this more rigid view. "I thought he was there to tempt me," he says. That

was his feeling when he first came under the spell of the heathen book, but feared that the revealer was a tempter. Afterward, when he had decided that the great Shepherd was a Christian angel, his former attitude seemed positively wicked.

The word ἐκπειράζων seems delicately chosen for its place. Hermas does not bluntly say, "I thought he was the devil," but, "I thought he was tempting me," suggesting a being whose fascination was felt, whose outward appearance made a favorable impression, but whose true character was under suspicion. At last, instead of yielding to protest as he had done in the case of the Sibyl, he determined to incorporate this imposing Shepherd into his own written prophecy as a being sent by Christ. It was a bold and independent stroke, the most important decision in the prophetic career of Hermas.

## V

Whatever may be the origin of the angelic Shepherd, he becomes the centre of the religious life of Hermas as revealed in the second part of the book. The persecution is over. While it lasted, many Christians were too weak in the faith to resist to the death. If threatened with arrest, they denied their religion in order to be safe. If brought into court and accused of holding a belief antagonistic to the Roman state, they observed the necessary form of offering sacrifice to prove that they were loyal citizens. But now that Domitian was dead and the storm past, some of these weak and wavering souls desired to come back into the church. What should be done about them? Should their repentance of their backsliding be accepted? Should they be baptized again? Had they any chance now for admittance into heaven? Or ought they to be sternly excluded from hope?

This problem of the 'lapsed' appears after every extended persecution of the early church. We are not all such stuff as martyrs are made of. Human nature being what it is, there are always some backsliders in time of stress. Toward such Hermas was tender-hearted, and he demanded that they should have another chance. In the course of the Mandates he develops his Shepherd into a special "angel of repentance" —

that is to say, the administrator of a second repentance. Christ himself brought the first opportunity for repentance and forgiveness of sins; but if one has lapsed, this Shepherd will administer a second opportunity.

Apostasy in time of persecution was not the only sin, though it was naturally the most conspicuous. In theory the Christian was forgiven at baptism for every failure of the past, and was insured of perfection for the future. In practice this perfection did not ensue. Whenever the day of judgment was felt to be momentarily imminent, and so long as introspection was not too active, it might be possible for the believer to maintain a sense of perfection; but in normal times with ordinary human beings the sense of sin was likely to recur. Hence the Mandates treat of various sins that occur in daily life, and to all backsliders the Shepherd offers hope of repentance. This section of the book, therefore, becomes a summary of Christian ethics and a series of studies in Christian casuistry.

Repentance is properly regarded as a moral act, but in one peculiar passage Hermas tries to represent it as an intellectual insight. "I am set over repentance," he makes the Shepherd say, "and give understanding to all who repent. Or do you not think that this act of repentance is wisdom? To repent is great wisdom." And after a singularly forced and artificial argument he reiterates, "You see therefore that repentance is great wisdom" (Mand. iv. 2, 2). This is unusual. It seems as if Hermas were trying to impart to his central doctrine an air of gnostic profundity which it does not properly possess. One may even suspect that it is a sort of apology to his heathen model — an unsuccessful effort to imitate the atmosphere of the *Poimandres*.

However that may be, Hermas certainly makes an attempt to systematize his religious beliefs, and despite the essentially unsystematic quality of his mind the struggle is not wholly futile. With the angel of repentance as a centre he develops a theology of his own, a little gospel within the gospel, a kind of epicycle to the larger Christian doctrine of salvation. In the later *Similitudes* the Shepherd has a seal of his own to mark those whom he has rescued from perdition, and he conducts a

sort of judgment-day of his own in advance of the coming of Christ. In all of this Hermas delights to assist as the Shepherd's representative among men and as the chief herald of the doctrine of hope (see especially *Sim.* viii. 4 and 11).

At times this seems like a caricature of the ordinary type of Christianity. And yet if the theology of Hermas is inferior to that of Paul, it is not because they had different methods. Both were mystical prophets proclaiming a new message of hope. Paul found the Jewish religion hardening, as he thought, into an inadequate dogma, and into it he thrust the figure of Christ as the bringer of forgiveness and salvation. Hermas found Christianity, as he felt and understood it, hardening in its turn into a dogma of perfectionism, and into it he injected the Shepherd, the angel of repentance, to soften its sternness and bring renewed hope. By this means Paul founded a new religion, but Hermas did not. There is no evidence that any numbers of persons ever seriously adopted the special Hermaic brand of Christianity as their own. The difference lies not in the method, for both Paul and Hermas proceed in much the same fashion and make similar claims to inspiration and revelation. The difference lies in the inherent greatness of Paul's mind and heart — in the passion of his devotion, in his flaming courage, in his keen though often perverse dialectic, in his moral intensity, in his love for his fellows, in his statesmanlike genius for organization.

Though Hermas lacks all of these, he has one quality of great value to a theologian. He is an inveterate seeker after information. The book is full of allusions to his inquisitiveness, and the revealers vacillate between rebuking his importunity and approving his desire for accuracy. He is "very curious, desiring to know all about the tower"; "shameless about asking for revelations"; "inquiring into everything and understanding nothing"; "still importunate"; "again over-curious"; "extremely bold about asking questions"; "very curious and bold about seeking the solutions of parables."<sup>15</sup> These phrases

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Vis.* iii. 3, 1; 3, 2; 6, 5; 7, 5; iv. 3, 1; *Sim.* v. 4, 2; 5, 1. "Accurately" is his great word (*ἀκριβώς* and its derivatives); cf. *Vis.* iii. 10, 10; *Mand.* iii. 4; iv. 2, 3; 3, 3; 3, 7; *Sim.* ix. 1, 3; 5, 5; 13, 6.



occur, it is true, in the reports of visions and revelations, but they are so numerous and persistent that one can hardly doubt that they are based on fact. The man must have made something of a nuisance of himself — a sort of “gad-fly of Rome,” one might say, displaying not a little of the Socratic manner, though nothing of the penetrating intelligence that lay behind it.

Criticism is a great sharpener of ideas. In his efforts to meet objections, to assert the dignity of the Shepherd, and to show that he rightfully belonged within the Christian system of thought, Hermas was forced to learn more and more regarding the typical doctrines of his religion. Similitude v is his highest flight into the realms of speculative theology, and it shows him breathing that rarefied air with some difficulty. It is a parabolic exposition of the type of christological speculation now commonly known as adoptionism, and historically is of the highest value as reflecting the problems, the arguments, and the discussions of Roman Christians near the beginning of the second century. Rome at this time must have been a fairly active centre of theological speculation, and Hermas serves as its mirror.

Nevertheless his testimony must be discounted. In particular, all that relates to the Shepherd, the angel of repentance, was peculiar to Hermas. Moreover, he shows an unmistakable tendency to degrade to his own level of intelligence whatever doctrines are too lofty for him. Thus the christology of Similitude v degenerates rapidly into angelology in later sections of the book, just as his doctrine of the Spirit lapses toward animism.

All these are the interests and the problems of a time of peace. In the entire collection of the Mandates, together with Vision v, there is not a word that bears on persecution. The chief dangers recognized, aside from the power of the devil and of various sins, are such things as “business and riches and heathen friendships and many other occupations of this world” (Mand. x. 1, 4), or soothsaying, which is branded as an “idolatrous” practice (Mand. xi. 4). This is merely the peaceful interpenetration of Christianity by paganism, quite a different thing from

persecution by force; and it suggests the brief era of religious toleration under Nerva (September 96 to January 98).

How long this condition of affairs continued after the accession of Trajan there is no means of knowing. At any rate, by the time of Pliny's correspondence with the emperor concerning the treatment of Christians in Bithynia (111 or 112 A.D.) a change had taken place.<sup>16</sup> During the first century the inevitable antagonism between the church and the Roman state had been taking shape. The refusal of Christians to participate in the imperial system of worship had more and more the look of mere contumacy prompted by treasonable motives. But Trajan wisely refused to have these troublesome nonconformists systematically sought out. "Conquirendi non sunt," he wrote to Pliny. If a person were accused, subjected to the usual test, and revealed thereby as a Christian who set his religion above the claims of the empire, that was a crime punishable by death. But if he could live comfortably and tactfully with his heathen neighbors and had the good fortune not to become the victim of an informer, the state was satisfied and its representatives were not authorized to make arrest. Much depended on the individual Christian and the offensiveness of his zeal. Much depended also on the temper of the local magistrate. There was no persecution on a large scale, but individual executions might take place anywhere and at any time.

This state of war-in-peace or peace-in-war under Trajan seems reflected in the later *Similitudes*, particularly the ninth. Persecution there appears as in some degree regularized and legalized. Christians are brought before a court and examined (*Sim. ix. 28, 4*), and the requirements of their religious law are contrasted with the laws of the land (*Sim. viii. 3, 6*). "The heathen punish their servants if any one deny his lord [presumably the emperor]," it is said (*Sim. ix. 28, 8*). Such allusions, if taken separately, might of course be held to refer to the persecution under Domitian, and in fact the whole book yields no unquestionable indication of the Trajanic date. But there is a cumulative impression which seems decisive.

<sup>16</sup> The historical situation under Trajan is vividly outlined by C. Bigg, *Origins of Christianity*, Oxford, 1909, pp. 84-98.

Between Vis. iii and Sim. ix, in particular, the attentive student must feel a pervasive difference in atmosphere pointing to a changed situation. Superficially the two allegories are much alike. Both present the church as a tower with the individual Christians as building-stones. Both make mention of martyrs, apostates, informers — the classes usually created by a persecution. But in the one case the attack is sudden, sharp, alarming, a veritable portent of God's last judgment. In the other, persecution has become a fixed element in the situation, one of the distressing but inevitable facts of life, as if church and state were settling down to a sustained struggle. Nothing could represent more perfectly the contrast between Domitian's assault upon Christianity and that of Trajan.

The first reflection of the Trajanic persecution may perhaps be seen in Sim. vi and vii. These two parables, while closely related, need to be studied in reverse order, since the impelling motive of the two comes out only at the end of the second. The prophet is again in difficulty with the authorities, and apparently has been sent to prison, for the Shepherd holds out to him the hope that his affliction will not be long and that he will soon be restored to his house (Sim. vii. 6). As in the very first of his visions, so here Hermas is concerned to discover the religious cause for his troubles.

"What have I done that is so wicked?" he laments. Then in rapid dialogue he and the Shepherd run through all the possible explanations. The sins of Hermas himself are many. Ah, but not so many as to account for this. His family has done great sin. That may be, but what has he done — he himself? Well, the family cannot be afflicted except through him as the head of the house. Nay, but in reality they have all repented with their whole heart. That also is true, but it is a mistake to suppose that the sins of those who repent are immediately forgiven; in fact punishment is often three hundred and sixty-five times as long as the sin which caused it; in other words, a single day of indulgence in luxury may mean a whole year of affliction.

This alarming theory is what the prophet finally accepted, evidently to explain his own troubles, and it is this which forms the basis of Sim. vi. To set the matter forth pictorially he in-

vented two new shepherds, whom he names respectively the angel of luxury and deceit and the angel of punishment. These are fashioned on the general model of the angel of repentance, and for certain purposes human beings may be turned over to them much as to the original Shepherd; but in the thought and affection of the prophet they never rival their prototype. They serve a temporary purpose in these two brief Similitudes; then they disappear. In the later portions of his book Hermas finds other angelic beings of greater interest and significance, notably the chief angel of all (Christ, identified with Michael) and the twelve personified Virtues.<sup>17</sup>

Psychologically, this is much like the creation of imaginary playmates in the minds of children, often children of high mental ability. The phenomena may be visual, or both visual and auditory; that is, the imaginary companions may be heard and talked with, and not merely seen. Sometimes there is only one such playmate, often there are several, and a series once started is likely to be added to as they pass through their various adventures. The newcomers often disappear promptly into oblivion, but one or two principal characters usually persist and dominate the series. These figures are not exactly hallucinatory; the child recognizes that they are different from real, living, objective children, and as he grows older he more and more hesitates to refer to them, until finally they disappear from his mind; but there are rare instances in which the experience continues into adult life.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Sim.* viii. 3, 3 for the mention of Michael, and *Sim.* ix. 11, 15, and *passim*, for the personified Virtues. W. Lueken, *Michael: Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael*, Göttingen, 1898, gives a valuable exposition of the religious importance of Michael in post-prophetic Judaism. The early Yahweh had been a nationalistic champion, but the prophets transformed him into a universal deity. Thereupon the old particularism transferred itself to the principal angel, who from the time of the Book of Daniel onward appears as the heavenly guardian of the Jewish nation. When therefore the Christians arose to claim that they were the true Israel, it was not difficult for them to identify their Christ with Michael.

<sup>18</sup> Nathan A. Harvey, *Imaginary Playmates and Other Mental Phenomena of Children*, Ypsilanti, Michigan, 1918, p. 16, after investigating 109 cases, found only three instances in which the phenomenon persisted into adult life. The matter is treated also in W. S. Taylor, *Readings in Abnormal Psychology*, New York, 1926, p. 601.



Anyone who has ever seen a well-developed case of this sort will be reminded of it as he studies the supernatural beings that attend upon Hermas. Hallucinations in a sense undoubtedly they were, and yet one thing is certain: they were not conscious, deliberate, fraudulent fictions.

If when the prophet wrote the sixth and the seventh Similitudes he was hoping to be restored to his house, he may have been either in prison or in exile. More probably it was the former, and in that case the two Similitudes that follow may have been composed in prison also. There is no definite proof, but such long, elaborate, unhurried creations might well have come from a period of enforced leisure like that which produced Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Not so the last Similitude of all. Clearly this was not composed in prison, though it is not certain that the scene is laid in the prophet's own house. On this occasion all the principal beings of his supernatural hierarchy pay him a visit. The chief angel — evidently Christ, though he is never so named — sets forth in impressive terms the dignity and power of the Shepherd as the angel of repentance. Hermas is especially commissioned to the ministry and office of proclaiming the Shepherd's message to men, and is again commended to his care and that of the personified Virtues. It is the final formulation and defence of the peculiar Gospel according to Hermas.

This closing message stresses with singular earnestness the duty of the rich to provide liberally for the Christian poor. In fact the misery of the poverty-stricken is described so vividly as to suggest that the man himself, although released from prison, may have lost all his worldly possessions.

But I say that every man ought to be rescued from distresses, for he who is destitute and is suffering distresses in his daily life is in great anguish and affliction. Whoever therefore rescues the soul of such a man from affliction gains great joy for himself. For he who is vexed by that sort of distress is tortured by as much anguish as a person in chains. For many even commit suicide on account of such calamities, when they cannot bear them. Whoever therefore knows of the distress of such a man and does not rescue him incurs great sin and becomes guilty of his blood (Sim. x. 4, 2 f.).

There is a personal ring about all this, as if the author knew whereof he spoke, and desired some wealthier Christian to come

to his rescue. It is not a cheerful situation in which to leave the aged prophet — destitute, distressed, craving to become a pensioner upon some one's bounty. And yet it may be that he has already found his benefactor. The scene of the final Similitude is not laid, as in Vision v and Similitude vi, in the prophet's own house; rather it is "the house in which I was" (Sim. x. 1, 1). Is this the house of some friend? Such, surely, is the implication of the words, though one may hesitate to interpret over nicely a passage preserved only in translation. Against this view is the repeated use of the term "my house" throughout the remainder of the Similitude. This can only mean that if Hermas really has been taken into the home of some friend he is promptly adopting the new household as his own.

In any case the prophet has inner consolations. He may have lost his home and all his property, and even for a time his personal liberty, as a result of his Christian allegiance, but after all he was justified. There are things more important than property — among them the interest and approval of one's fellows, and the sense of having done something of signal worth. These values Hermas had gained as a Christian prophet, as the bearer of a message direct from the divine sources of knowledge and power. Of course he looked toward the life to come for his principal reward. To the very end, however, he maintains that the truly acceptable Christian is rewarded in this life by prosperity in business (Sim. x. 1, 2 f.). It is the selfsame doctrine that prompted his opening vision, and in spite of repeated calamities he holds it to the last.

## VI

The literary history of Hermas may now be summarized. From both internal and external evidence it is clear that Visions i-iv and the portion comprising Vision v, the twelve Mandates, and the ten Similitudes were published separately, although in most manuscripts they have been so combined as to form two sections of a single book. Originally the introduction to the second part must have been called 'Revelation'; Codex Sinaiticus has taken the first step toward unification by giving it a number, 'Revelation v'; Codex Athous goes still further and

calls it 'Vision v,' the name by which it is now universally known. Yet nothing can be plainer than that it has no place in the series of the Visions; it merely introduces the bringer of the new revelation. But the decisive piece of evidence is the newly discovered Michigan papyrus. The beginning and the end of the codex are lost, but a simple calculation shows that it opened with Vision v and closed with Similitude x.<sup>19</sup>

It is beyond question therefore that the second section, to which alone the title of 'Shepherd' properly applies, once circulated by itself. How early this was combined with the first four Visions it is impossible to say. All the quotations and allusions in Irenaeus, Tertullian, the Muratorian Canon, the Catalogus Liberianus, the *Carmen adversus Marcionem*, Pseudo-Cyprian *adversus Aleatores*, and Commodian have to do with the Shepherd proper.<sup>20</sup> In his Festal Letter of the year 339 Athanasius makes no reference to the earlier Visions, but cites the testimony of the Shepherd by quoting Mandate i as "the beginning of his book." On the other hand, the imagery of the visions seen by Perpetua, a contemporary of Tertullian, reflects both parts of Hermas, and Clement and Origen quote freely from both. Clement employs two different formulas of citation. For the second part it is, "the Shepherd says," or, "the Shepherd, the angel of repentance, said to Hermas"; for the Visions it is, "the power that appeared to Hermas in the vision," or something similar. Apparently two types of manuscript persisted side by side for a century or two, the one containing both sections of Hermas, the other only the Shepherd proper (that is, without Visions i-iv). It is but natural that ultimately the more comprehensive recension crowded out the other.

From the internal evidence it is clear that Hermas himself intended to put out the two works separately. At this point we

<sup>19</sup> Several papyrus fragments of Hermas are known, but the collection belonging to the University of Michigan has recently yielded a papyrus codex extending from Sim. ii. 9 to Sim. ix. 5, 1. This is to be edited by Professor Campbell Bonner, who gives an account of the manuscript, with specimens of the peculiar readings, in 'A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas,' *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. XVIII, 1925, pp. 115-127. See also the note by Lake in the same volume, pp. 279 f.

<sup>20</sup> The testimonia are most conveniently collected in Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, Part I (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 49-58.

must distinguish between composition and publication. Both parts were composed piecemeal, by a process that can best be described as agglutinative. The author is continually adding postscripts, supplements, corrections, reinterpretations, as new ideas come to him. Only two passages refer definitely to publication. One is at the end of Vision ii. The aged lady asks if the book has as yet been given to the elders. Hermas says, No. She replies that that is fortunate, since she has words to add. The addition is of course the Third Vision; but chapters 10-13 are a further supplement that Hermas could not refrain from including, and Vision iv, which took place only twenty days later, rounds out the collection. All this material was doubtless put together into the book that was to be "made known to all the elect" (Vis. ii. 4, 2), one copy being transmitted to Clement and through him to the foreign cities, one going to Grapte for the widows and orphans, and one being retained for the author to read before the church. It is scarcely credible that this elaborate process of publication should have been followed separately for the various visions. Locally, of course, to individuals or before groups of friends, Hermas may well have given advance reports of the separate revelations; but for general publication, especially to outside cities, he is at this time assembling a mass of material of sufficient size and importance to justify the effort.

The second literary endeavor of the prophet is more pretentious, but its process of growth is much the same. Apparently he has had visions or revelations of various sorts since the experience represented by Vision iv, and now undertakes to summarize them in the form of a series of commandments by the Shepherd. As the new revealer words it in Vision v. 5, "I was sent to show you (*σοι*) again all the things that you saw (*εἶδες*) before, especially the main points that will be useful to you (*ὕμῃν*)."<sup>1</sup> But there was more to be said than could be crowded into a set of Mandates. When these reached the number of twelve, Hermas cut them short, and proceeded to add a less definite series of Similitudes. "So I wrote the commandments and the parables as he commanded me," he says in Vision v. 6, evidently at a time when the double collection was nearly if not



quite finished — probably after the completion of Similitude v, possibly of Similitude viii. But already the idea of Similitude ix is taking shape. In its introductory chapter the first words are: "After I had written the commandments and the parables of the Shepherd," etc. Note that it is not "after I had published," but "after I had written." This is merely a new stage in the composition. It does not mean that Similitude ix is the sequel to an already published work ending with Similitude viii. In fact, the interval at this point is indicated as only "a few days" (Sim. viii. 11, 5). But at last in Similitude x the time has come for publication of the whole collection, and here the opening words are: "After I had written this book (*librum hunc*)."<sup>21</sup>

There are thus two references in Hermas, and only two, to books that he has prepared for publication: Vision ii. 4, 2 f., and Similitude x. 1, 1. (Vision ii. 1, 3 f. must be excluded as not referring to his own composition.) And yet one might inquire if the second book did not include the first as its introductory section, especially since Similitude viii presupposes Vision iii — is indeed almost unintelligible without the first allegory of the tower. However, a previous installment may be presupposed in the sequel without being actually included in it. Yet what of the opening chapter of Similitude ix? A mystical summary is there given of the career of Hermas as a prophetic visionary: at first, when he was weaker in the flesh, he had revelations through the Church in the form of a virgin; later, as his spiritual strength increased, he was able to see by the mediation of this angelic Shepherd. Undoubtedly the experiences of the first four Visions are here in view. Nevertheless they are regarded,

<sup>21</sup> One of the Latin manuscripts, the Codex Palatinus, leaves an extra space and inserts a large 'Amen' at the end of Similitude viii, and puts another 'Amen' after Similitude ix. Harnack, in his commentary, p. 69, expresses the opinion that this goes back to the original copy, and that it marks certain of the stages in the publication of the work. P. Baumgärtner, *Die Einheit des Hermasbuchs*, Tübingen, 1889, p. 38, thinks that the 'Amens' indicate new authors for Similitude ix and Similitude x. This is resting a good deal upon a mere pious ejaculation. There are undoubtedly new stages in the composition at these points, but not in the publication, much less in the authorship. Perhaps some scribe wrote the 'Amens' in glad relief after he had worked his way through the arid wastes of Similitude viii and Similitude ix. There is no trace of them in the Michigan papyrus.

not as a part of this present book, but as a part of the prophet's mystical career. In truth, the whole point of the passage is to put them into sharp contrast with the present stage, and so to justify the repetition of the allegory of the tower in this new book. Observe also that the opening verse says merely, "After I had written the commandments and parables of the Shepherd," not, 'After I had written the visions of the Church, and the commandments and parables of the Shepherd.'

The mystical summary, therefore, at the beginning of the Ninth Similitude gives equal testimony, first, to the unity of authorship of the whole work of Hermas, and, second, to the separate publication of the two main parts. Of course he may have left behind him a single manuscript in which the two books were copied out consecutively. Or some of his friends may have put them together after his death. Or again, the combination may not have been made till a century or more after his time. But so far as his initial intention is concerned, the second was a separate and distinct book from the first.

The earlier publication can be dated with considerable accuracy. If Visions ii and iii were composed while the persecution in the time of Domitian was in full swing, and Vision iv, which took place twenty days after the end of Vision iii, followed the accession of Nerva, then the collection was put out late in the year 96. The change of emperors took place in September of that year. For the composition of Visions ii, iii, and iv an allowance of three or four months seems reasonable. There is an indefinite interval for copying in ii. 1, 4; a space of fifteen days at ii. 2, 1; perhaps two or three days in ii. 4; an unspecified "long time" of fasting, which could hardly exceed a week or two, at the beginning of Vision iii; three days in iii. 8, 11; one day in iii. 10, 7; and twenty days more before Vision iv. Thus the journey to Cumae at the beginning of Vision ii may have occurred in May or June of 96. This means that the earlier journey to Cumae in Vision i took place in 95, at about the same season of the year (cf. Vis. ii. 1, 1; iii. 10, 3). Harvests occur early in that climate, and Hermas may have made annual trips southward to gather the produce from a piece of farm-land (cf. Vis. iii. 1, 2-4). The financial losses so often referred to

were evidently recent when the First Vision was composed, and may have been among the earliest of the difficulties under Domitian. In Vision i they are represented as a purely personal matter, not as a part of a general persecution; but the rapacity and vengefulness of that emperor increased toward the end of his life, and it may have taken a year or more for the church to become fully alarmed and to be convinced that this was the last great tribulation before the judgment. It was in 93 that he entered upon his reign of terror. Hence the losses of Hermas may have occurred in 94 or early in 95.

The date of the second publication is more doubtful. Pliny went to Bithynia about the year 111, and if we could be sure that the Trajanic type of persecution, as reflected in his correspondence and in Similitude ix. 28, was first instituted at that time, the closing date of Hermas would be 112 or later. It seems unlikely, however, that an emperor of such administrative vigor would wait until his thirteenth year to formulate a policy toward the rising sect of Christians. As a matter of fact, Pliny's letter of inquiry states that previous trials of these religionists have taken place at Rome during his lifetime, though he was then so busy with another form of legal practice that he does not know how they were conducted; and though these are sometimes assumed to have occurred under Domitian, they may be assigned equally well to the earlier part of the reign of Trajan. In that case Pliny's method of operation in Bithynia is not a sheer novelty; rather he has virtually hit upon the procedure of Trajan himself, except for the matter of listening to informers.<sup>22</sup> It is quite possible therefore that the publication of the Mandates and Similitudes belongs earlier than the year 112.

There is one bit of evidence that would place it as early as 100. The Elkesaites, a ramifying sect, or group of sects, of heretical Christians, would seem to have cited the teaching of Hermas in

<sup>22</sup> Something may be inferred also from Ignatius, Rom. 5, 2, in which he speaks as if martyrdoms like his own had been a not uncommon occurrence at Rome: "May I have joy of the beasts that have been prepared for me; and I pray that I may find them prompt. I will even entice them to devour me promptly — not as they have done to some, whom they would not touch through fear." This letter may be as early as the letter of Pliny, though it is usually assigned to a date later in the reign of Trajan.

support of a lax doctrine of second repentance. That is a peril to which every religion of forgiveness is more or less subject; and while Hermas is just as earnest as was Paul in asserting that he would not open the door to repeated sinning, what actually happened in some cases may be guessed from the reproach which Tertullian hurled against "that apocryphal Shepherd of adulterers" (*De pudic.* 20).

From the existing fragments of the Book of Elxai it is not possible to determine whether Elxai was a real prophet or a fiction, or whether the connection with Hermas was literary or personal, immediate or remote; but concerning a certain Elkesaite named Alcibiades some tolerably definite facts are reported by Hippolytus. During or after the time of Callixtus (after 200) this man came to Rome and proclaimed the Elkesaite revelation concerning the gigantic Son of God and his female companion the Holy Spirit. Hippolytus adds:

By telling these wonder-stories he thought to disturb the foolish, making the following declaration — that in the third year of the reign of Trajan there had been preached to men a new forgiveness of sins; and he arranged a baptism (which same I shall describe), declaring that those who were defiled in any lasciviousness, uncleanness, or lawlessness — he arranged that such a one, if he were a believer, should, after repenting and being instructed in the book and believing, receive remission of sins.<sup>23</sup>

The sentence is confused. From it Hilgenfeld inferred that the original Elxai inaugurated the sect at Rome in the third year of Trajan; but, as Harnack pointed out, the passage does not say this. Rather, Alcibiades, in approaching the Romans, seeks to connect his imported teaching with something already familiar to them, namely, a doctrine of renewed forgiveness that someone had proclaimed at Rome in the year 100. What proclamation could this have been? Harnack suggests the Second Vision of Hermas, but cannot fit this in with his scheme of chronology, since it would extend the literary activity of the prophet over some thirty-five years.

<sup>23</sup> Cited and discussed by Harnack, *Geschichte der althristlichen Litteratur*, II. 1 (Leipzig, 1897), p. 266, note 2. Hilgenfeld firmly believed in the dependence of Hermas on the teachings of the Elkesaites, and in both his earlier and his later editions (*Die apostolischen Väter*, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 151–167, and *Hermae Pastor*, Leipzig, 1881, pp. 230 ff.) he printed the notices of this heresy as found in Hippolytus, Origen, and Euphrasianus.



To one who is willing to reject the Muratorian testimony regarding Hermas the allusion of Alcibiades seems singularly appropriate. But it can hardly be Vision ii that he had in mind. That contains, it is true, some remarks about repentance, but they apply directly to the household of Hermas; in no sense are they a general doctrine of second repentance and baptism. Nor is so crude a revelation as the Second Vision likely to have impressed itself upon tradition as having appeared in a particular year of the reign of Trajan. It must be to the second part of the book, dominated by the Shepherd as the angel of repentance, that Alcibiades refers — if at all. The real doctrine of a second repentance makes its appearance in the Mandates, especially in the Fourth and Twelfth, and culminates in the Eighth Similitude, in which the Shepherd administers a little religion of forgiveness of his own within the limits of the larger Christian system.

Although the information of Alcibiades may not have been accurate, the presumptions are in its favor. He is apparently appealing to a fact of common knowledge, and there is no discernible motive for falsification either on his part or on that of Hippolytus (though the latter is often accused of careless citation). Also, whether or not he knew the prophet by name, it is probably the revelation through the Shepherd to which he is referring; the date under Trajan, the content of the message, and the general trend of the Elkesaite heresy all bear out that supposition.

But is the period from 94 to 100 long enough for all the things that happened to Hermas? The book of the Visions was probably sent forth toward the end of the year 96, soon after the accession of Nerva. Then comes a period of temporary eclipse, due probably to the failure of the prophet's over-eager prediction about the end of the world. During this time he must have received a considerable number of revelations, for the Shepherd says, "I was sent to show you (*σοι*) all the things that you saw (*εἶδες*) before, especially the main points that will be profitable to you (*ὕμῃν*)" (Vis. v. 5). This must mean that the second book is intended to be a summarizing repetition of previous mystical experiences, but in the main body of the Mandates and Simili-

tudes there is no sign of any material repeated out of the Visions as now extant. The vision of the tower is repeated, but that is in an appendix to the main collection. These things "seen before" must have been seen in the interval between the two publications. Moreover, the very substance of Vision v presupposes some sort of mystical experiences not recorded in Visions i-iv, since Hermas appears already to be on the defensive regarding his new revealer, the Shepherd. All things considered, therefore, this interval of temporary eclipse must have been fairly considerable, perhaps a year or two, or even three. On the other hand, it is hard to think of so talkative and expansive a prophet as keeping silence for ten or twelve years.

Assuming an interval of about two years, we are brought to the end of 98 or the beginning of 99 as the date for the composition of Vision v. That leaves the year 99 and a part of 100 for the completion of the second book, if its final publication is to fall in the third year of Trajan. Is this time enough for so extensive a compilation? At first one might think not, and yet the wearisome monotony and verbosity of the work may make it seem longer than it really is. As a matter of fact the book, once started, gives the impression of proceeding steadily with but little interruption. There are no exact notes of time, but whenever an interval is indicated it is merely "after a few days" (Sim. vii. 1, 1; viii. 9, 1; 11, 5; ix. 5, 5; but ix. 11, 7 is an exception). The work is long, but Hermas has now found his stride and can compose more readily, so that the actual time covered may not be greater than that of the Visions.

There is another consideration. The repetition of old material — no doubt with copious additions and reinterpretations — may be suspected to continue as far as the end of Similitude v, but with Similitudes vi and vii we come again upon references to the immediate circumstances of the author's life. He is probably in prison (Sim. vii. 6). In that case the greatly expanded and detailed Eighth and Ninth Similitudes were composed in a season of enforced leisure, and under those circumstances a large literary output is possible in a relatively short time.

On the whole, therefore, as a closing date the year 100 is not

merely possible but probable. If we but reject the testimony of the Muratorian Canon, all the available evidence, both external and internal, can be arranged in a self-consistent chronological scheme covering the six years from about 94 or 95 to 100.<sup>24</sup>

## VII

Such is the public career of the prophet Hermas as it may be extracted from his book. As to his private and domestic life also there are interesting indications. He was not a perfect husband — prophets seldom are. His home-life at the time his book opens left him unsatisfied, and we may believe that the fault was not entirely his wife's. The man was both tactless and temperamental. Recall the reflection regarding Rhoda in the first Vision: "How happy I should be if I had a wife like that in beauty and in character." It was not a tactful observation to set in the forefront of his published visions. He earnestly insists that he thought only this and nothing more, but his wife may have considered that this was enough.

He was also, in the modern phrase, temperamental, though he struggled more or less ineffectually against this fault, as appears from the fifth of the Mandates. The angelic Shepherd is here discoursing on patience, or control of one's temper, a quality that is said to furnish a large and cheerful dwelling-place for the Holy Spirit. The opposite quality is quick temper, or sudden anger, in which the devil dwells. The two are thought of as individualized spirits, and woe unto that man in whom they both try to dwell. He is rendered bitter and useless, like a jar of honey with a little wormwood in it. Hermas asks to know the working of this hasty temper, that he may guard against it.

<sup>24</sup> Such a result accords with the opinions of the most careful critics, in so far as they express themselves at all, respecting the extent of the prophet's career. For example, C. Bigg, *Origins of Christianity*, Oxford, 1909, p. 73, says: "We may suppose that three or four years had elapsed." Even Harnack, who has spread the chronology of Hermas out over a longer period in order to date the final publication ca. 140, is manifestly disturbed at the outcome of his own reasoning. In the *Chronologie* (*Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, II. I, p. 266) he observes: "The previous stages, including Visions i-iv, extend over a considerable time — not more, however, than twenty or twenty-five years (it might very well be less)."

"Yea, verily," says the Shepherd, "if you do not guard against it — *you and your household* — you have lost all your hope" (Mand. v. 2, 2).

Then follows a passage showing a remarkable insight into the causes of family quarrels, though the explanations are of course spiritistic. The sharp-tempered spirit, it is explained, insinuates itself into the heart of an empty or doubtful-minded person, "and for nothing at all the wife or the husband gets into a temper over some matter of daily life — either about the food or some little remark, or about some friend, or about giving or receiving [presents], or about some such foolish thing."

One can fairly see Hermas and his Xanthippe sitting opposite each other at the family table. Observe that the lady (so at least in the text of the Athos manuscript) is accorded the honor of first mention: "the wife or the husband gets into a temper." Whether the jealousy "about some friend" relates ultimately to Rhoda or someone else, we shall never know; the details escape us. But the general impression of strained marital relations, of a household disfigured by numerous petty quarrels, a husband temperamental and tactless, a wife exasperated and perhaps exasperating — all this is too clear to be mistaken. Furthermore the financial reverses of Hermas doubtless served to aggravate the difficulty. For if prosperity is no guarantee of marital felicity, poverty is even less so.

All prophets are human, and this prophet of Rome was no exception. And yet, with all his faults and all his troubles, he had many splendid qualities. For one thing his optimism is incurable, and this is one cause of his popularity. He is a cheerful soul, aware of the sad side of life but consistently refusing to dwell on it. To sinners, for example, he is forever proclaiming the one last chance for repentance — and forever moving the date forward so as to admit the negligent or tardy. Logic or no logic, he will have a happy ending to the story of salvation; and the public never tires of happy endings. Nor is his book intellectually taxing. The few ideas which it contrives to make clear are obvious enough to appeal to simple readers, while the obscurities would of course pass for profundities. Add to this his power of vivid narration and picturesque description, his moral



earnestness, and a transparent sincerity amounting oftentimes to naïveté, and the popularity of Hermas was predestined.

It must have been for this cause that the book so nearly won its way into the New Testament. Though not a great work, it was popular. The prophet's art might be defective and his theology shallow; bishops and theologians might deny him recognition. But the common people read him eagerly. Church council after church council excluded the book from the canon of Christian scriptures, and perhaps condemned it,<sup>25</sup> but its vogue continued. Within fifty years after its publication it was widely read throughout northern Africa and was known also in Gaul.<sup>26</sup> Some centuries later the Manichees, for reasons and by channels not now discoverable, carried copies of the Shepherd as far east as Chinese Turkestan, where were unearthed in the present century certain fragments of one of the parables.<sup>27</sup>

Another admirable quality of Hermas was his perseverance, even against heavy odds. He was a new convert from paganism, and the Jewish-Christian world of thought was all strange to him. But he learned; step by step he passed through a painful process of education and readjustment. He was rebuked for his dealings with the Sibyl. His overfondness for hunger-induced visions was rebuked. Official recognition of his powers

<sup>25</sup> So Tertullian, *De pudicitia*, 10: "ab omni concilio ecclesiarum etiam vestrarum [i. e., Catholic as opposed to Montanist] inter apocrypha et falsa iudicaretur."

<sup>26</sup> If, as Tertullian indicates, it had been widely condemned, that means that it had also been widely read in Africa. For its use in Gaul, see Irenaeus, *Contra haeres.* iv. 20, 2, citing *Mand.* i. 1. Eusebius, *H. E.*, v. 8, 7, assumes that Irenaeus is here ascribing canonicity to Hermas, but this is not quite certain. "Scriptura" may mean merely 'writing.'

<sup>27</sup> F. W. K. Müller, 'Eine Hermas-stelle in manichäischer Version,' *Sitzungsberichte*, Berlin Academy, 1905, pp. 1077-1083, published in parallel columns (1) the Persian text of the fragment, *M.* 97, (2) the translation, and (3) Weinle's German translation of the pertinent portions of *Sim.* ix. 4, 7; 6, 1; 9, 4 f.; 18, 5; 19-25. The identity of the passage is beyond question, but it seems more like a free, condensed summary than an exact translation. At some time between the third century and the tenth the religion of Mani spread into Chinese Turkestan, and from the neighborhood of Turfan have been recovered several hundred Manichaean manuscripts, all in fragmentary condition. Why one of these should contain the excerpts from the Shepherd is obscure. F. C. Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees*, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 95-97, suggests that some of the western missionaries of the sect may have picked up a copy of the revelations of Hermas and confounded them with the writings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, who is known to have been held in honor by certain of the Manichees.

as a prophet was long withheld, to his great grief. His chief literary model, the pagan book from whose pages he derived the idea of the angelic Shepherd, was at first, it would seem, condemned as a work of the devil. But by all this buffeting Hermas manfully profits. He does not sulk; he does not become discouraged. He perseveres in his new faith, and eagerly learns all that he can comprehend. Hence the traces of paganism which mark his earlier visions tend gradually to disappear. And yet to the end he remains non-Jewish. The forces derived ultimately from Judaism play upon him and profoundly affect him, but the influences from the Greco-Roman world are also strong and never wholly leave him. Out of just such religious syncretism was Catholic Christianity formed — not by any calm, philosophic commingling of ideas from Hellenism and Judaism, but by a difficult and painful process of fusion in numberless little lives like that of Hermas.

## RECENT FRENCH DISCUSSIONS OF CHRISTIANITY: THE SERIES 'CHRISTIANISME'

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THE general public in France is singularly uninformed on questions of religion. Persons in other respects very well educated are frequently lacking in the most elementary notions of the doctrines and history of Christianity. Men who would be ashamed if they were caught taking Virgil for a Greek poet or Demosthenes for a Roman orator, unblushingly display an astonishing ignorance about the books of the Bible, and will suppose, for example, that the New Testament was written in Hebrew, or in Syriac, or even in Arabic, and the Old Testament in Latin. On the part of the small group of scholars who occupy themselves with the history of Christianity, efforts have been made to combat this ignorance and to awaken some interest in questions which the university programs systematically ignore. Plans have been sketched, but difficulties of every kind have prevented putting them into effect. Some steps have been taken, but as yet only too few; some books of an untechnical character, capable of being understood by anyone of moderate education, have been published, but so far they have not succeeded in shaking the general indifference.

One may well ask whether there is prospect of a change, and hope may be derived from the reception accorded to the series entitled "Christianisme" issued by Rieder in Paris under the editorship of Dr. P. L. Couchoud, of whose ideas and publications an account was given in this REVIEW for April 1926. Of convenient size and elegant form, clearly written and purposely kept free from any display of erudition, these little books have found many readers both in France and abroad. Their success cannot be explained solely by the skill and care with which the series has been conducted, or by the value and

interest of particular volumes. It is in part at least a proof that such a publication serves a real need.

Many who think themselves indifferent to and detached from any religion are occupied, even obsessed, with the religious problem. Their unbelief is neither satisfied nor at peace, but is ever on the watch for arguments to support its position. As for believers, in face of the attacks upon their faith they feel, often unconsciously, the need of testing the foundations of their faith, and of getting a clearer understanding of it. A series expressly designed to satisfy this two-fold need for information, felt more or less vaguely by believers and unbelievers alike, answers to a general aspiration, and it is not surprising that it has found a cordial welcome.

The purpose with which Dr. Couchoud began the series was, in his own words, to furnish the general public with the survey and exposition of recent work on Christianity and its history, which everyone agrees is needed. Now that a beginning has actually been made, and seventeen pamphlets have been issued since the spring of 1924, it is possible to form an opinion not merely of the scheme itself, to which neither believers nor unbelievers can object, but of the manner in which it has been carried out. To give an idea of the series, we will begin with a description and appreciation of the several volumes, and then try to formulate a general judgment regarding them.

The numbers so far issued<sup>1</sup> are very varied in character and method, and also uneven in value. Two of them treat of the philosophy of religion: Alain, "Propos sur le christianisme" (No. 2), and Miguel de Unamuno, "L'agonie du christianisme" (No. 11). Three volumes deal with the general history of religions in their relation to Christianity: R. Kreg-

<sup>1</sup> The series is to be continued. The following numbers are already announced as soon to appear: G. van den Bergh van Eysinga, "La littérature chrétienne primitive"; E. Buonomiuti, "Le modernisme catholique"; P. L. Couchoud, "Recherches sur Jésus." A recent circular from the publishing house of Rieder announces a project that is under consideration for supplementing the series "Christianisme" by a parallel series to supply the scientific foundation. This is said to be sufficiently advanced for a beginning to be expected in 1927. Side by side with "Christianisme," the same house issues another series entitled "Judaïsme," divided into two sections, "Œuvres," under the editorship of Edmond Fleg, and "Études," under that of P. L. Couchoud. Four volumes of each of these sections have appeared and others are announced.



linger, "L'évolution religieuse de l'humanité" (No. 16), Th. Zielinski, "La Sibylle" (No. 4), and Boulanger, "L'Orphisme" (No. 10). The other twelve treat various aspects of Christian history. First comes a very general exposition by Albert Houtin, "Courte histoire du christianisme" (No. 1); then P. L. Couchoud's brilliant but paradoxical essay, "Le mystère de Jésus" (No. 3), discussed in my previous article; a translation of the Book of Acts by Alfred Loisy, with introduction and notes (No. 8); and translations of the Fourth Gospel, the Epistle to the Romans, and the first Epistle to the Corinthians, by H. Delafosse, with an introduction in which very novel and bold hypotheses are presented (Nos. 5, 13, 17). A volume by Coulange is devoted to the Virgin Mary (No. 9); one by Normand to Confession (No. 15). The Middle Ages are represented by Félix Sartiaux's "Foi et science au Moyen Age" (No. 14); the eighteenth century by a hitherto unpublished memoir on Free Masonry by Joseph de Maistre, edited by E. Derminghem (No. 6); and a study by Aulard on Christianity and the French Revolution (No. 7). Finally, for the nineteenth century, J. Pommier gives a study of the religious thought of Renan (No. 12).

The "Propos sur le Christianisme" by Alain, the transparent pseudonym of one of the most brilliant of the professors of philosophy in the Paris lycées, might have been more accurately entitled "Thoughts concerning Christianity," and to give an adequate idea of the contents of the book, one should add *et quibusdam aliis*. The thought is essentially discursive. It would be difficult to discover any order at all or any progress in the fifty-one pieces which make up the volume, and of which each is complete in itself. The preface, indeed, lays out the plan of a connected study. The first step was to be the proof from history that the changes which have taken place in Christianity have not altered its substance. By a further historical inquiry it was likewise to be shown in what respects the Christian religion resembles Hebraism and Hellenism and wherein it is opposed to them. Then should follow a physiology of religions, bringing into notice their close relationship with

the human environment in which they have severally developed. Such an analysis, inspired by the methods of natural science (Alain says it should be made after the Darwinian fashion), would explain the husk in which the ideas of Christianity, like a kernel, lie hid. In the third place should come the ethics of religion, or a description of the emotions, passions, and sentiments that it evokes, while the crown of the whole was to be a philosophy of Christianity which should be an exposition of Christianity as true. Alain's conception is, in short, a biology of religion. The plan which he sketches is certainly interesting, though it is conceived a little too much from the outside. Every line reveals the man who has observed Christianity, especially in its Catholic form, with a curiosity that has sometimes been sympathetic but has never penetrated below the surface or given the matter any systematic study. It is a striking fact that Alain seems never to have defined the three conceptions, Religion, Christianity, and Catholicism. The last two he repeatedly confounds.

The logical sequence of thought in the preface serves in some measure to offset the rather miscellaneous character of the body of the book, but it would be vain to seek in this introduction for a principle by which a body of doctrine could be organized out of Alain's "considerations." The composition consists of essentially isolated parts, each taking its point of departure from something the author has read, or from some fact of observation which he tries to interpret in such a manner as to deduce, if not a law, at least a general truth. Sometimes he takes a generally accepted idea, examines it, and illuminates it by ingenious combinations; and here he may, in the end, reach an original formulation. If the phrase were not too pedantic for an essay so free in form, Alain might be said to attend more to the phenomenology of religion and to its psychological manifestations than to its emotional effects and interior life.

A few quotations will give an idea of these "Considerations":

The Catholic miracles <sup>2</sup> are laughed at by the ignorant, but even a very little education shows that, on the contrary, Catholicism must be recognized

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<sup>2</sup> This is a typical example of the confusion mentioned above between the terms Christianity and Catholicism. The same confusion appears in several volumes of the series.

as relatively the first religion without miracles, not absolutely without miracles . . . at any rate without oracles. . . . To be just to the immediate past it is necessary to form some idea of the remote past (II. Oracles et miracles).

It is commonly said that man made idols because he was religious. I would say rather that man's earliest contemplation had the idol as its object, and that he was religious because he made idols (XIV. Idoles).

The real order of events is not that the legend is the basis of the ceremony, but contrariwise that the ceremony supports the legend (XX. Cardinaux).

Faith must come first, and before proof, for there is no proof for him who believes nothing. There are plenty of minds without faith. They are weak minds who seek support from without. . . . To think without hypotheses rationally formulated in advance and firmly held, is to fight without weapons (XXXVII. De la foi).

The book by Miguel de Unamuno, a Spaniard proscribed by the Directorate and now a refugee in France, is one of those which cannot be summarized. The very title, "*L'agonie du christianisme*," will throw many a reader off the track. The author does not prophesy the approaching disappearance of Christianity. He takes the word 'agony' in its etymological sense of 'conflict' or 'struggle.' Moved at once by the words of Jesus, "I am come not to send peace but a sword" (Matt. 10, 34) and by Pascal's saying about the Christ "who is in agony until the end of the world," Unamuno maintains that Christianity is made real in the individual only by incessant conflict and contradiction. His conception of Christianity is essentially individualistic and mystical. For him no notion can be more absurd than that of a social Christianity, nor anything more repugnant than Protestant exegesis, "an exegesis of men who follow the letter, not the book." His point of view on the historical Christ is expressed in the formula:

I am more assured of the historical existence of Don Quixote than of that of Cervantes; Hamlet, Macbeth, King Lear, Othello have made Shakespeare far more than he made them. You exclaim at the paradox and imagine that this is a mere phrase, a figure of rhetoric. It is rather a doctrine of 'agony' (p. 38).

Unamuno's book is tumultuous, disordered, lyrical. It is the confession of a soul flaming and in torment, a mind sometimes paradoxical, fond of original formulas rather than caring to

grapple with its thought and express it in precise terms. The several chapters of the book are almost completely independent of one another; the course of the thought seems capricious. It is often a chance bit of reading that supplied the author his incentive. One whole chapter was suggested by reading the biography of Père Hyacinthe by Albert Houtin. Such a book cannot be discussed. It would be pure pedantry to compare the ideas of Unamuno with the data of history. The work must be taken for what it is, the utterance of a specific form of thought and piety.

"L'évolution religieuse de l'humanité," by Richard Kreglinger, professor at the University of Brussels, is a condensation of the larger work on the history of religions which he is writing.<sup>3</sup> It consists of a brief but precise characterization of the great religions, with an ingenious attempt to classify the principal types of religion. The author divides religions into four main groups: (1) primitive religions; (2) monarchical religions (Egyptian religion, Jahvism); (3) religions of salvation (Brahminism, Buddhism, Paulinism); (4) catholic religions (Roman emperor-worship, Catholicism, Islam).

On this classification I have only one remark to make — with regard to the place assigned to Christianity. The chapter on monarchical religions contains a paragraph on Jesus. In the chapter on the religions of salvation there is another on Paulinism. A third, devoted to Roman Catholicism, is inserted in the chapter which treats of catholic religions. Now it is true that Christianity has manifested itself successively as a monarchical religion, a religion of salvation, and a universal religion. But it is equally undeniable that, viewed as a whole, it shows a unity which does not appear when, as by Kreglinger, Christianity is presented piecemeal. The three phases of Christianity which he distinguishes are not absolutely separable from one another. Each is characterized, not by traits lacking in the

<sup>3</sup> Under the general title, "Études sur l'origine et le développement de la vie religieuse," three volumes have appeared: I. "Les primitifs, l'Égypte, l'Inde, la Perse," 1919; II. "La religion chez les Grecs et chez les Romains," 1920; III. "La religion d'Israël," 1922, 2nd edition, 1926.



other two, but merely by the fuller, or even the preponderant, development of certain elements which appertain to Christianity in general. Religion as conceived by Jesus, for instance, is not exclusively characterized by the idea of the omnipotence of God, which would make it a monarchical religion; it is also both a religion of salvation and a religion which is, or at least tends to become, universal.

What conclusion is to be drawn from this? Perhaps merely that the evolution of religion, partly by reason of the dominating rôle which the individual factors play in it, is too complex to be enclosed in the rigid frame of a classification. A classification of religions may be useful in bringing method into scientific work; it cannot lay claim to the value of a scheme which exactly corresponds to reality.

The last chapter of Kreglinger's book is entitled, "*Le divorce de la religion et de la civilisation.*" He sees the beginning of this separation in the sixteenth century, appearing not only in Catholicism but also in Protestantism, which, developing in the direction of rationalism, tends to "reduce religion to a mere system of words, inspired by that of Jesus, and, unlike philosophical morals, resting on a vague sense of the solidarity of man with the world and on the general fear induced by superhuman sanctions" (p. 183). In spite of the lofty character which Kreglinger recognizes in this system of morals, he thinks that nevertheless "the place of religion in human life is made lower by it," and that it can not have henceforth "the salutary influence which it has often exercised in past ages" (p. 184).

These opinions are based solely on a study of the state of religion in Europe, or rather in a part of Europe, and that is too narrow a basis for a general forecast of the future of religion. But even in this narrow field, we may well ask whether certain violent manifestations of anti-religious thought do not betray in certain minds a veritable obsession with the problem of religion and a longing for a new form of religion. Religion must have great vitality, since it is necessary to attack it so savagely. Furthermore, if a religious crisis, and perhaps a crisis in religion, does indubitably exist to-day, this is due to the tendency to dis-

tinguish religion more and more sharply from forms of activity and functions of the human spirit (such as politics, morals, science) with which it had been temporarily confounded. This specialization is in harmony with the nature of religion, and is neither decadence nor diminution. To give one example, religion has nothing to lose in completely abandoning to the positive sciences the knowledge of nature and the universe, although there was a time when all science was religion, and theology summed up all forms of knowledge. That which religion seems to lose in range it may gain in depth. The more it restricts itself to its own domain, the more will it become inward and spiritual, and the more will it grow in power and true life.

The relations of Christianity to ancient religions have often been treated, but the three essays written by Th. Zielinski, professor at the University of Warsaw, under the title "*La Sibylle*," and with the sub-title "*Trois essais sur la religion antique et le christianisme*," are more than an exposition of previous work on the subject. They form a most original and suggestive study, by reason both of the point of view from which the matter is studied and the spirit in which it is approached. The author is a Hellenist of the highest rank and a sincere Catholic. He has an admirable knowledge of Greek religion from the earliest epoch down to the period of hellenistic syncretism, and further he is able to think and feel like a man of antiquity, and, as a religious man, to understand the religion of Hellenism by making it live again in his own heart. On the other hand, he is a Catholic, and for him the two ideas, Christianity and Catholicism, are identical. He vigorously protests against the pretensions of those who draw a contrast between the Catholicism which a dying antiquity bequeathed to the Middle Ages, and which was an essentially syncretistic religion, and a pure Christianity, supposed to be primitive, namely that of Jesus. This "pure" Christianity seems to him a vague and nebulous phantom. He does not admit any contrast between Catholicism and the religion of Jesus, because "the intention of the sower cannot be anything other than the mature crop, depen-

dent as it is not only on the original engendering seed but with equal right on the favoring elements of the soil" (p. 37).

If it is, as Zielinski says, absurd to question whether Jesus was a Christian, it is no less arbitrary to identify with Christianity all that has attached itself to the movement inaugurated by Jesus. The religion of the first disciples of the Kyrios risen from the dead is by no means a vague and indefinite magnitude. It is sharply differentiated from the far more syncretistic products of following centuries. To lay down the principle that the intention of the sower cannot have been different from the mature crop is to introduce a theological point of view into a question of history. If the facts are viewed as they really are, it is evident that the coming in of elements unknown to primitive Christianity has produced a composite in which authentic Christianity is only one factor.

To complete the picture of Zielinski's own traits, it must be added that his sympathy for Hellenism and affinity with its religious soul are matched by aversion toward Judaism and hostility to the Old Testament. Indeed, he seems but imperfectly informed as to the history of the religion of Israel, witness the manner in which he dismisses with a few superficial phrases the idea of Iranian influence on the eschatology of the Jews (p. 15).<sup>4</sup>

Zielinski's theory is summed up in the sentence with which his book ends: "It is in the religion of pagan antiquity that we find the real Old Testament of our Christianity" (p. 125), and the three essays are devoted to justifying this affirmation from several different points of view.

The most interesting and novel of these essays is the first, entitled "*Préparation du christianisme dans la religion antique.*" The aim here is not to bring out the connection of certain Christian doctrines with earlier philosophical theories, or to show that Christianity borrowed from pagan usages; it is rather to show a psychological preparation for Christianity in ancient religion. The Christian religion, he remarks, was cast

<sup>4</sup> It should be added that in the case of hellenistic syncretism Zielinski does not seem to attribute to oriental influences as much effect as they would appear to have had.

out by Judaism, in the bosom of which it was born, and it is other nations which have adopted it. "The only possible explanation of this," he says, "is that there was on the one side a state of mind favorable to it, and on the other side the contrary. The Greeks and the hellenized Romans were already prepared to become followers of Christ, while the Jews were not. Prepared by what? Evidently, by their religion" (p. 10). This conclusion seems to conflict with a fact by which the apologists of the second century were much impressed, namely, polytheism and idolatry, "pretended polytheism and pretended idolatry" Zielinski calls it. He believes that the objection comes from an imperfect comprehension of the religious soul of the Greeks. The ancient world, he holds, felt sure, and possibly understood, that the question of divine unity or plurality was a naïve question, and it used indifferently the singular or the plural in speaking of divinity. The dogma of the Trinity is an expression of the same feeling, while the uncompromising insistence of Judaism on the unity of Jahveh came from an altogether material conception of God.

On the capital question of the God-man, again, Zielinski finds a preparation for Christianity in ancient religion, and a harmony between these two forms of religion which sets them in contrast to Judaism. He writes,

Jesus the Messiah would have shared the lot of so many other messiahs who appeared from time to time on the banks of the Jordan, and the grass would have grown over his forgotten grave, with nothing changed in the world of the living. It is Jesus the Son of God who conquered the world. Why? Because the world was prepared beforehand by its own religion, the religion of pagan antiquity (p. 18).

In the beliefs about a god who had sojourned on the earth, like Apollo, or a hero, like Hercules, who became a god after his earthly career, there was, according to Zielinski, "a predisposition favorable to the coming dogma" (p. 19).

This idea of a psychological continuity between ancient pagan piety and Christian piety is of prime importance for elucidating the relation of Hellenism and Christianity. But there is room for serious doubts as to the conclusions which are here drawn from the conception. If, as is only just, the relations of



Christianity with Judaism are considered with as much sympathy as its relations with Hellenism, the psychological continuity will be equally, and even more distinctly, evident. The real facts are more complex than Zielinski sees. Furthermore, true as his theory, with certain reservations, may be in regard to the syncretistic Christianity of the close of the ancient world, it does not hold good for the earliest manifestations of Christianity. Now if the evolution of Christianity forms a whole, we shall find different stages in the development, and we must consider whether, at one or another of these stages, there was not an infiltration of elements, foreign or even opposed to Christianity, which would affect it more or less seriously or change its character. The conversion of Hellenes to the Gospel implies a certain preparation of ancient society for Christianity, but there is another side to the matter. The result was a hellenization of Christianity, and hence in a certain sense an alteration and transformation of it.

The second essay, entitled "Le fondateur de la religion hellénistique," is a reprint of a paper by Zielinski read at the Congress of the History of Religions held at Paris in 1923.<sup>5</sup> The author shows how, under the influence of Timotheus the Eumolpid, the hellenistic religion came into existence in the third century B.C. in Syria and Egypt, and brought to the front in all the Orient the worship of the Pythian Apollo associated with that of the Eleusinian Demeter. Here too, Zielinski thinks, a comparison with Christianity is called for, and he traces the psychological continuity. The Sol Invictus celebrated by Julian the Apostate yields his place in the calendar to the Christian Saviour, and in the Mother of the Saviour we have again Demeter, the *mater dolorosa* of the Eleusinian religion.

Hellenism (concludes Zielinski) is the connecting link between the religion of ancient Greece and the syncretism of the Roman Empire, which is itself the connecting link between Hellenism and Christianity. This is the main path of the religious evolution of European civilization. Its importance will become more evident when, in the study of this evolution, religious senti-

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<sup>5</sup> Actes du Congrès international d'histoire des religions réuni à Paris, en octobre 1923, I, pp. 51-69, Paris, 1925.

ment shall have taken the place of dogma, and psychological continuity that of the inter-relation of beliefs (p. 96).

The third essay, from which the title of the volume is drawn, is "*La sibylle, ou la fin de Rome.*" It sketches in broad lines the history of what may be called Roman apocalyptic, that is, the development of the beliefs and the fears connected with the idea, introduced into Greek thought by Heraclitus, of the periodical dissolution of the world by fire and its perpetual rebirth. Under the influence of Stoicism, this idea was combined with that of original sin, and in the fourth Eclogue of Virgil it culminated in the expectation of a saviour who should lead the world to a new golden age. Zielinski sums up:

The renewal took place, just as Virgil, without suspecting it, had prophesied in his messianic eclogue. Although the golden age was slow to appear, there was nevertheless a renewal, decisive but very different from the appearance of a new Caesar. Christianity itself acknowledged this in the sequence "*Teste David cum sibylla.*" Historical criticism may have its reserves as to the former of the two names; it can but confirm the latter (p. 125).

André Boulanger, professor at the University of Bordeaux, who is at work on a comprehensive study of Orphism, gives under the title, "*Orphée, rapports de l'orphisme et de christianisme,*" a summary of what may be deemed certainly known about Orphism and a statement of what is in his opinion the proper view of its influence on Christianity. Simple in plan, clear and vivid in style, free from all over-technical philological discussion, this soundly constructed and fully documented study is not beyond the range of a cultivated public, while at the same time specialists will find it valuable for its exact statements and suggestive observations. It is the model of a monograph on a limited subject. Would that we might have similar studies of the principal religions of the hellenistic period and the great mystery-religions that came into contact with early Christianity.

That Hellenism and its cults exercised an influence on Christianity no one denies. The difficulty arises, as Boulanger remarks, when we come to define the limits of this influence. It is better not to attack the problem all at once, but to begin

with "detailed analyses, in order to trace out each of the elements which combine to form the religious atmosphere of the pagan environment in which the new faith was born and developed" (p. 11). Some of these inquiries, he thinks, would lead to negative results, but such inquiries would not be the least useful, for they would relieve the history of Christian origins of a number of obsolete hypotheses. That is what this study aims to do for Orphism, which presents analogies to Christianity that were noticed as early as the second century.

At the outset the author notes three wide-spread misconceptions about Orphism. The first confounds it with the great movement of mysticism and religious revival which appeared as early as the sixth century before our era, and of which Orphism is only one highly specialized phase. The second identifies it with the Bacchic mysteries and the worship of Dionysus as a divinity of the Lower World. The third regards Orphism as a unit, without taking account of the various aspects which it successively presented.

The book falls into two parts: first a history and description of Orphism considered by itself, then a study of its affinities with Christianity and its influence on Christianity.

Originating in Magna Graecia about the middle of the sixth century and introduced into Athens by Pisistratus and his sons, Orphism was closely akin to Pythagoreanism, and was the product of the moral unrest which in times of prosperity inclines the favored classes toward mysticism and leads the less fortunate to long for a new faith. It developed in small groups of persons, *thiasoi*. Its foundation was a pessimistic view of life, inspired by a sense of the contrast between the misery of man and the loftiness of his aspirations. Hence came a dualistic conception of human nature, with the notion of the soul imprisoned in the body and longing to be free. The doctrine is connected with the myth of Dionysus Zagreus, who was devoured by Titans but restored to life by Zeus, since his heart had escaped the notice of the murderers.

From the sixth century to the Christian era Orphism was continually undergoing change. Its most original element was its doctrine of the soul. Of divine origin, it is nevertheless

destined to sin and suffering; in the prison of the body it seems to fear the burden of an ancient crime. This is the effect of the Titanic element within it. The soul is subject to the law of the cycle of existence, a never-ending cycle for the uninitiated, but Orphism opens a way of salvation through abstinence and renunciations. As compared with the Homeric religion, Orphism completely reverses the meaning of the words 'life' and 'death.' With all its originality, it is yet only one of the religious currents of the sixth century, and unlike Pythagoreanism it has behind it no powerful personality.

The great vogue of Orphism did not last beyond the Persian Wars, and it survived only among the lower classes, for whom it was in fact only a system of efficacious incantations. About it gathered a mass of superstitions and magic practices, and it was combined with various orgiastic cults. Ritual became far more important than doctrine. At exactly this same time the figure of Orpheus became a favorite subject in art but without mystical associations. Plato borrowed from this religion formulas and images, but made profound changes in their meaning. From the fifth century on, Orpheus was held to be the founder of all the mysteries and the prophet of Dionysus. In the hellenistic period comes a further development; an Orphic literature appears, having nothing in common with primitive Orphism but elaborating its most extravagant doctrines. Orphism had been a religion; this Egyptian neo-orphism was only a speculation.

At the time of the birth of Christianity, the glory of Orpheus was at its height, but of Orphism only a literary knowledge remained. The Orphic religion had ceased to have a real existence, and was but a single element in a half-philosophical, half-religious syncretism. Boulanger's conclusion is:

In the character of a living religion, Orphism cannot have influenced the Christian faith. The founders of Christianity knew it only after it had lost its original character and had been debased with many alloys. . . . It was possible for them unconsciously to absorb a diffused Orphism (p. 67).

The larger part of Boulanger's book is devoted to the question of the influence of Orphism, first on Judaism, then on Christianity. He rejects Macchioro's theory of an expansion of



Orphism in Jewish territory in the first century before Christ. While admitting that it may possibly have penetrated into Judaea, he finds no clear trace of its having had any effect there; and the case is the same for Alexandrine Judaism. If the Wisdom of Solomon, for instance, contains ideas related to Orphism, they are derived from Plato.

Theologians will read with special interest the pages devoted to Orphism and Saint Paul, which are excellent in all respects. I have rarely read an account of Paulinism by an author not an exegete by profession, which shows such an understanding of the Pauline system. A specialist in Pauline studies might suggest the re-touching of a detail here and there, but no other change. Boulanger lays down the principle that it is a paradox to deny that Hellenism had a part in making the apostle what he was. Then he states and adopts three principles, formulated by Clemen, as to the conditions on which the Hellenic origin of an element of Christianity can be affirmed: first, that the particular element cannot be explained either from Judaism or from earlier Christianity; secondly, that it must have not only an external resemblance to Hellenism, but an internal affinity with it; thirdly, that the pagan religion in question can be proved to have existed at an earlier date than Christianity and in its neighborhood.

Justin Martyr noticed the resemblance of the myth of Zagreus to the history of Christ, and explained it as a devilish imitation of Christian doctrine. But if we are to avoid ascribing undue significance to this resemblance, we must observe that the passion of Zagreus is not a voluntary sacrifice, freely accepted, and that it is not the cure of the initial sin, for the immolation itself is that for which expiation must be made. Moreover, the idea of the substitution of the innocent for the guilty is foreign to the Greek spirit; finally, the resurrection of Zagreus cannot be identified with that of Christ, because Zagreus reappears under a new form.

Macchioro, indeed, says that Orphism gave a redemptive value to the painful death of its god, but the only text that can be cited in support of this idea is five centuries later than Paul. Boulanger says:

The myth of the divine being who dies and comes to life again and the theory of redemption derived therefrom appear in very different guise in the doctrine of Saint Paul and in that of Orphism. . . . We may even go further and say that the idea of the god dying and coming to life again, in order to lead the faithful to eternal life, is present in no Hellenic religion. . . . The epithet *soter* is never characteristic of the divinities of the mystery-religions; and it is not attributed to them at all before the Christian era (p. 107).

Boulanger continues the comparison of Paulinism and Orphism in the field of anthropology. Both doctrines involve dualism, but what in Christianity is the affirmation of a moral law is in Orphism only the expression of a physical fact. As to ritual no precise comparison is possible, since we do not know definitely what the Orphic initiation was.

The author's conclusion — and it is just — is that the influence exercised by the pagan religions of salvation on the thought of Paul was of a very general character; they furnished only the mould in which Paul cast his personal conception of Christianity. The consequences which he drew were such as never entered into the thought of any hellenistic religion.

The examination of the relations of Orphism to the Christianity of the second, third, and fourth centuries leads to results equally unfavorable to the theory that Orphism was an essential factor in the genesis of Christianity. The Christian writers of this period show but a superficial and fragmentary knowledge of Orphism, and it was not as a religion that they knew it. One chapter is devoted to the influence of Orphism on Christian eschatology. The poverty of primitive Jewish eschatology compelled Christianity in developing its doctrine to have recourse to the beliefs that were most widely diffused in the Greco-Roman world, and these had their origin in Orphism. The author admits, however, that a part of the theology of life beyond the grave (that, for instance, found in the Apocalypse of Peter) had an oriental origin, so that here too we cannot think of a direct and preponderating influence of Orphism.

As to Gnosticism, Boulanger holds Wobbermin's view, which treats it as a Christian Orphism, to be an exaggeration, since all the features that suggest Orphism are common to nearly all of the mystery religions and religious philosophies of the time.

A final chapter discusses the figure of Orpheus in Christian art. Orpheus appears in the catacombs of Rome in the second century, and persists in the west until the fourth century and longer still in the east. Boulanger thinks that it is as a symbol of the eternal destiny of the soul that Orpheus was given a place in the paintings of the catacombs. It is a case of pure symbolism, the origin of which is to be sought not in the doctrine but in the legend of Orpheus. The Orpheus of the catacombs is not the teacher of Orphism, the prophet of the immortality of the soul; he is simply an allegory.

Boulanger's general conclusion is that whatever Orphic elements there are in Christianity are due to ideas that pervaded the last stages of paganism. There are some striking external similarities between the two religions, but no evidence of direct contact. Orphism may be considered as a remote preparation for Christianity; it spread abroad ideas which Christianity used for the interpretation of the death and resurrection of Christ, but to which it gave a wholly new significance and moral value and a universal application.

To undertake to write, in one hundred and twenty small pages, a "Short History of Christianity" was venturesome, to say the least.<sup>6</sup> To succeed required all the knowledge accumulated by so industrious a worker as Albert Houtin in a lifetime of disinterested labor and eager and sincere pursuit of truth. To render this history a real picture and not a mere dry enumeration of the most significant facts called for the perfect lucidity of mind, the will to comprehend, and the resolute refusal to be misled by formulas, which all of Houtin's many writings attest. Whatever may be thought of his opinions on Christianity and its history, every competent judge will recognize that behind the easy, flowing style of this book lies a wealth of learning.

In his preface the writer says that his presentation of Christianity "is based on a lifetime of study and experience." But

<sup>6</sup> This volume has now appeared in an English translation: A. Houtin, *A Short History of Christianity*, translated by Lady Frazer, 128 pp., London, Fisher Unwin, 1927.

objective as the "Short History" seems, and while it is indeed the product of research, it is also the result of his disappointment in the sincere but fruitless endeavor to reconcile Catholicism and history and to bring the mental attitude of the clergy of his church into harmony with the modern spirit. To be understood it needs to be read in connection with Houtin's autobiography, published a few months before his death under the title "*Une vie de prêtre. Mon expérience, 1876-1912*" (Paris, 1926). This book, full of poignant sadness, is a very simple tale, sober in movement and tone, free from all rhetoric, and for this very reason singularly touching. Early attracted to the priesthood, Houtin entered in 1880 the Smaller Seminary at Angers and thence in 1886 went to the Great Seminary in the same city. He left there as a priest in 1891 having passed one year (1887-1888) as a postulant with the Benedictines of Solesmes, who would not permit him to go on to the novitiate. Houtin characterizes the instruction which he received at the seminary by the vigorous name of "intellectual emasculation." In his case the operation did not succeed. The scholastic instruction and the limitation of biblical studies to a few commonplaces could not stifle his intellectual curiosity, the necessity that possessed him to harmonize his thinking, to know, to go to the sources. He left the seminary with a sincere vocation to the priesthood,<sup>7</sup> but with the feeling that he had more to learn than he had yet acquired and the determination to study for himself and fill up the gaps of clerical education. The young Houtin seems to have taken up the life of a priest with perfect sincerity, and he liked to attribute to others, especially to the dignitaries of the church, an uprightness equal to his own. His whole ecclesiastical life was passed in the Smaller Seminary at Angers, at first as instructor, then as professor, first of German, later of history. In his leisure time he studied and wrote. His first work was a biography of Dom Couturier, abbot of Solesmes, which was fairly well received. A study which he undertook of the origins of the church in Angers

<sup>7</sup> Even in 1902 the bishop of Angers, who harshly censured and even persecuted him — the word is not too strong — was obliged to write that a good "testimonial was due him in respect to his life as a priest."



caused him to throw doubt on the legend of King René, and drew down the hostility of his bishop. Sure that he was right, and incapable of admitting that his vows of obedience could require him to declare true what appeared to him evidently false, he refused to submit, had to resign his duties, and left the diocese of Angers. For some time he filled the very modest position of a priest attached to St. Sulpice in Paris, but of this he was deprived after the publication of his book on "La question biblique au XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle" (April 1902). After vain attempts to find a new position, his *celebret* was withdrawn on April 1, 1903, and he could no longer say mass. On December 4 following, two of his books were put on the Index, coincidentally with the principal works of Alfred Loisy. The anti-modernist conflict was now in full swing. Houtin was still a sincere Catholic. He dreamed of modernizing Christianity, by which he meant Catholicism. Although his opponents heaped accusations of Protestantism upon him, he never felt the attraction of the Reformation, a matter on which he expressed himself with great definiteness. In spite of the personal sympathy which he felt for certain liberal Protestants such as Albert and Jean Réville and Eugène Ménégoz, and in spite of certain rather ill-timed advances which were made to him, Houtin felt no inclination to become a Protestant. Liberal Protestantism seemed to him incapable of bringing about the evolution which he believed necessary. It was in the bosom of the Catholic Church that he hoped this could be accomplished, but the measures taken against modernism and the efforts made to silence him, together with the events which accompanied the separation of the churches and the state, finally dissipated his illusions. By 1907 his rupture with the Catholic Church became complete. Yet until 1912 he continued to wear the cassock, as the "old uniform of idealism," only putting it off after the death of his mother, when he had definitely lost the hope of a renovation of religion.

One must know this history of Albert Houtin in order to appreciate his "Short History," which treats of the church as a Catholic institution rather than of the Christian religion. Not that Houtin was definitely hostile to Protestantism, but he

saw in it only an abortive attempt. Ceasing to be a Catholic at heart, he remained one in mind, for he held that outside of the Catholic Church there is no Christianity, and extended to the whole of the Christian religion the condemnation which his conscience as an historian and the failure of modernism obliged him to pass upon the Catholic Church.

Alfred Loisy, the learned professor of the Collège de France, has published a translation of the Book of Acts, with an introduction, and the little volume will be useful to those who shrink from his large commentary, published in 1920. His ideas on the work of Luke have not changed, and a brief résumé of his book will suffice. He considers the Acts of the Apostles to be merely a revision, and even falsification, of the original work of Luke, which itself had been noteworthy for accuracy and precision. The interpolator gave the credit of the book to Luke, but made it serve his own ends. He transformed it into a demonstration of the power of the Holy Spirit in the diffusion of the Gospel from Jerusalem to Rome. He so represented the relation of Christianity to Judaism as to prove that Christianity is the sole authentic Judaism, and therefore had the right to be treated as *religio licita* in the Empire. The Book of Acts thus may be called a history intended as a plea in defence. In order to present the facts in a light favorable to his theory, the redactor made serious alterations in the work of Luke, surcharging it with a number of incidents framed in accordance with his thesis and systematically suppressing such facts as were unfavorable to that thesis. He tried to cover his own share in the work by a false air of archaism, but his changes dislocated the original arrangement and have left only a disconnected and often utterly chaotic narrative. The incoherencies left by the redactor permit criticism to make search for at least some elements of the primitive work, but these elements prove to be small in amount, and the additions of the redactor are quite worthless.

I have elsewhere <sup>8</sup> given my reasons for thinking that Loisy's

<sup>8</sup> Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses, I, pp. 446-468; also volume III of my Introduction au Nouveau Testament, Paris, 1922.

criticism is excessive and for preferring the idea that the *autor ad Theophilum* used for his own purpose an account of Paul's missions of which Luke was the author, and completed the work from other sources, some of which were ancient and of real historical value.

Loisy's translation of Acts is the third that he has published, or rather it is a third edition. The first appeared in the Commentary of 1920. The second is the translation in the "Livres du Nouveau Testament" (Paris, 1922).

In the present translation everything is made subordinate to the idea of reproducing exactly, not only the sense, but the style, the form, and even the rhythm of the text. To attain this end two methods are used, both of which seem infelicitous. First, the order of words in the Greek is followed and the Greek use of the articles and pronouns copied mechanically. The result, in consequence of the difference of spirit between Greek and French, is a strange, artificial effect, sometimes childish, sometimes cryptic, which is wholly absent from the Greek original. The translation thus necessarily gives a totally false impression, and the same method would yield the same result with any passage of any Greek writer. Loisy has tried to reproduce the physiognomy of the original; as a matter of fact he has disfigured and actually caricatured it.

Loisy's second method is to follow the rhythm of the original, that is, to arrange the translation in a series of short phrases, balanced in pairs against one another. He thinks that the New Testament was written in a sort of rhythmical prose or oracular style, although he has not succeeded in making an analysis of the rhythm or defining its rules. He believes that this rhythm was not subject to precise laws; to recognize it he trusts to the impression produced by reading aloud. This will seem to many a highly subjective procedure. They will also be disturbed when they discover that between 1920 and 1925 the use of the method has led Loisy to very divergent results. In 1920 he translated Acts entirely in prose. In 1922 a rhythmical character was attributed only to the speeches. Now the whole book is presented as rhythmic. For the portions rhythmically rendered in 1922, the arrangement of members and strophes

was in many places quite different from that adopted in 1925.

When Friedrich Blass propounded his theory of an artificial prose in the epistles of Paul, Deissmann characterized it as a "respectable error (ehrwürdiger Irrtum)."<sup>9</sup> With all due respect for Loisy's learning and immense labors, and with all gratitude for his incomparable services to the study of religious history and of exegesis in France, we might apply a similar description to his theory of rhythm.<sup>10</sup>

Henri Delafosse — or rather the anonymous writer who conceals his identity under this pseudonym — has very different views on New Testament criticism from those generally received, at least in regard to the Fourth Gospel, the Epistle to the Romans, and First Corinthians. He has perhaps devoted but little study to the theories of others; his three books contain few references to other works, and do not give the impression of adequate acquaintance with the vast amount of work done in New Testament criticism since the end of the eighteenth century.

The underlying idea of Delafosse is that the books he has studied date from the second half of the second century and bear evident traces of the controversies provoked by the doctrines of Marcion. He has been brought to this theory — and here is the characteristic mark and at the same time one of the weak points of his method — by the study of certain passages detached from their context. His views are embodied in translations printed in different types to distinguish the various strata of redaction.

The Fourth Gospel is in his view the Catholic edition, issued about 170–175, of a Marcionite gospel composed about 135. The Catholic revision adjusted the gospel to the ideas of the church and caused it to be preserved after the separation between the church and Marcion. He cites a series of passages which he considers Marcionite and docetic, and then adds other

<sup>9</sup> *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1906, col. 232.

<sup>10</sup> It should be mentioned that the use of Loisy's translation is made difficult by the fact that the traditional division into chapters and verses is not indicated on the page.



texts which seem to him to have a different character. The co-existence of the two series provides his hypothesis of a revision. This method begs the question, for it misapprehends two facts. In the first place, the primitive Christian writers were not rigidly logical thinkers, concerned primarily with bringing their thinking into perfect harmony and fusing the various influences to which they had been exposed. In the second place, Johannine dialectic has a peculiar character which must be taken into account. The Johannine author shows a certain awkwardness and poverty of expression; he cannot express directly a subtle thought, but proceeds with a succession of strokes, putting side by side several statements which are at least in some degree at variance with one another.<sup>11</sup> With such a writer it is particularly unsafe to consider only isolated passages.

It is true, as Delafosse notes, that in certain places the Johannine Christ seems to reject the idea of the resurrection of the flesh, but this is not necessarily a consequence of Marcionism; it is rather the result of an evolution which began as early as Paul and tends, if not to eliminate, at least to spiritualize, the eschatology. Again, when the evangelist relates that Jesus escapes from the enemies who wish to seize him,<sup>12</sup> this does not necessarily imply that his body is intangible, for the evangelist has taken pains to state that it took place because the Christ could not die before his "hour," that is, the moment destined by God.

Delafosse attributes to the Catholic redactor all the statements which imply that Jesus had a material body; but would a Catholic, revising a Marcionite work, limit himself to neutralizing by additions such formulas as he considered erroneous? Would he not rather have corrected them outright? And is it not simpler to admit that Delafosse's two series of passages represent merely the two essential elements of traditional christology?

Delafosse lays down the principle that everything foreign to the primitive tradition is a fiction, of which every detail has a

<sup>11</sup> See for example, John 1, 11-12; 3, 32-33; 8, 15-16.

<sup>12</sup> John 7, 30. 44; 8, 59; 10, 31; 11, 57.

precise meaning, and that where this meaning is not apparent, a revision of the text must be assumed. Thus the story of the visit of Peter to the sepulchre with the unnamed "other disciple" seems to him to show revision because the narrative does not explain why Peter, who was the second to arrive at the tomb, was the first to enter. He sees positive proof of the duality of authorship in the fact that in John 20, 5 the unnamed disciple stoops to look into the tomb, hence thought of as a grave, while in verse 6, where Peter is said to have entered the tomb, it must be thought of as a cleft in the rock, or a grotto, entered on a level. This is all very ingenious, but proves nothing. The two verses do not imply two different types of tomb. As in numerous examples discovered in Palestine, the tomb of which the evangelist speaks is to be understood as a grotto with a low opening, which would compel a visitor to stoop in order to look in, but would not prevent his entering. If the purpose in making Peter go into the tomb first had been to exalt that apostle, the writer would not have omitted to say that, finding the tomb empty, Peter believed. The episode simply lacks the supposed two tendencies, one to exalt Peter and the other to pay honor to the beloved disciple. Its sole purpose is to celebrate the unnamed disciple, who did not need to see in order to believe.

It would be easy to add to these criticisms, but it is better to make a more general observation on Delafosse's reasoning. Every time that he finds a case of opposition between the gospel and the Old Testament, or the religious tradition of Israel, he takes it as an instance of Marcionism. This would be legitimate if Marcion had been the first to discover the problem of the relation between gospel and Old Testament. But although Marcion gave it a radical solution, the problem itself is much older than his time. It arose as soon as Christianity became conscious of its own originality, and it would not be hard to point out, in the thought of Jesus, of Stephen, and of Paul, elements preparatory to Marcionism.

Delafosse does admit that Paul wrote a letter to the Romans, but this letter, an insignificant document, forms but the least important part of the present Epistle. The Marcionites at

first took it over, about the year 140, and prepared an amplified edition, adapted to their ideas. After the condemnation of Marcionism, certain affirmations which they had introduced were thought dangerous, and were neutralized by corrections or glosses. Accordingly the Epistle to the Romans as we have it is a Catholic revision of a Marcionite adaptation of a genuine letter of Paul.

Here too Delafosse examines the internal coherence of ideas and by reason of the lack of harmony between the different sections of the letter would analyze it into successive strata. But to say as he does, that Romans is a "queer scrap-basket" (p. 7) does not prove that it cannot have been written by the apostle. And it is not a good preparation for understanding the epistle to see in it only "accumulated extravagances," "absurd quibbles," and a "sophistry" into which Paul has "made a mad plunge" (pp. 52-53).

Paul's thought indeed shows violent antitheses, due in considerable measure to the fact that his Christianity developed to a large degree in opposition to his previous Judaism. It is not possible to understand him by taking him to pieces like a watch, or dissecting him like a cadaver. He must be grasped from the centre, by an effort of sympathetic understanding. Delafosse has approached the study in a spirit which has prevented him from even trying to do this. It is not surprising that the thought of the great apostle remains a closed book to him.

It is also to be regretted that he has not tried to understand the Epistle to the Romans as a whole, but from the start treats it as if it were known to be nothing but a mosaic of in-harmonious elements. He takes an isolated passage, makes on it a series of observations, sometimes decidedly subtle but never free from superficiality, and then concludes that the passage does not square with such and such another part of the epistle and cannot be by Paul.

The original epistle, he thinks, was addressed to Christians at Rome of Jewish origin, with the purpose of obtaining their intervention with the authorities of the church of Jerusalem. The persons addressed were not gentile Christians, for if they had been, Paul would have asked them to contribute to the

collection for the saints at Jerusalem and would not have wounded their feelings by representing them as debtors to the Jews (15, 27).

The aim here assigned to the Epistle to the Romans, bringing it into relation merely with the matter of the collection, is altogether too narrow. Paul announces that he is coming to Rome, and the letter is to prepare for the visit. How could he expect the Christians at Rome to give for his collection, or dream of intervention on their part at Jerusalem, when he was on the eve of setting out for Syria and there was not time enough for their gifts to reach the apostle or for them to send a message to Jerusalem?

Delafosse fails to show that the Christians at Rome were of Jewish origin, and consequently his argument that Paul's severe criticism of Judaism in chapter ii cannot have been addressed to the Jewish Christians whose good graces he was trying to gain, has no basis. Nor is there any difficulty in accepting the censure of pagan morals in chapter i as having been written by Paul. This passage is of a general and theoretical character; those whom Paul is addressing are neither heathen nor Jews, but Christians, who have renounced their former mode of life and standards of conduct.

In the exhortation of chapters xiii and xiv, concerning the strong and the weak, Delafosse sees the work of two writers. He takes it as referring to the situation created at Rome, about the middle of the second century, by the introduction of the reform of Easter and the preceding fast. The abstinences practised by the weak, which, by way of consideration for them, the author recommends the strong to adopt, were a part of the new mode of observance which appointed certain fast-days not recognized by the earlier custom. The passage in Rom. 14, 5 on the estimation of days has in view the opinion of those who insist on celebrating Easter on Sunday, whereas originally it could be observed on any day of the week. This again is all very ingenious but utterly arbitrary. Not a word in the passage relates directly or indirectly to Easter. What is said about abstinence is general, and has no reference to particular days. In Rom. 14, 2 the persons in question consider



meat and wine as unclean; their principle is not one of abstinence from meat and wine on certain fast-days.

As practised by Delafosse, biblical criticism is a mere *jeu d'esprit*; and this impression is strengthened by his third book, in which he treats in similar fashion First Corinthians. It is surprising that he should have thought he could study the first epistle to the Corinthians without taking account of the second, and of the history of the church at Corinth. From the outset the epistle is treated as a factitious document. Doubtless it lacks coherence, but before deciding that what we have results from successive additions made by three or four writers, it would be well to find out whether its lack of unity may not be due to the fact that, at the time when the collection of Pauline epistles was made, the extant fragments of a correspondence that had included a large number of letters were combined into two epistles thus artificially constructed.<sup>13</sup>

Delafosse's original letter of Paul to the Corinthians began with a very simple greeting (1, 1.2a.3) and an expression of gratitude to God (1, 4-9, omitting the reference to *gnosis* and *logos* in verse 5). Then followed a discussion of the parties of Paul and Apollos (the mention of the party of Cephas came from the first Catholic recension; that of the party of Christ is a later gloss). This discussion included only 1, 10-16 and 4, 8. Paul next took up the question of the man guilty of incest, without the demand for a judgment upon him and without the reference to "Christ, our passover" (5, 1-2.6-7a). He continued by congratulating the Corinthians on remaining faithful to his teaching (11, 2) and reproaching them for never assembling except to have their separate meals (11, 17.20a.21. 22b. 33). He ended with instructions as to the collection, information about his plans of travel and the coming of Timothy and Apollos, a recommendation for the house of Stephanas, salutation, and the formula *maranatha* (16, 1-12.15-21. 22c).

This short and not very important letter was considerably expanded by a Marcionite reviser. The new work did not have

<sup>13</sup> I have developed this idea in my *Introduction au Nouveau Testament*, vol. IV, part 2, pp. 72 f.

much in common with the earlier one. It is difficult to see why the Marcionite author used Paul's name instead of his own; at that date Paul's letter must have been well known, and there would have been good risk of detection of his fraud. Delafosse does not seem to have thought of this difficulty.

The Marcionite author amplified the salutation, and expanded the discussion of parties, substituting for purely personal rivalries of no great importance the idea of two opposite conceptions of Christianity, the Marcionite as represented by Paul and the Catholic as individualized in Apollos. He expanded the chapter on the case of incest, introducing the idea of delivering the guilty man unto Satan and outlining the theory of Christ as the paschal lamb; finally, by the artifice of the interpretation of a previous letter, he provided rules for the relations of Christians with sinners (5, 3-5a. 7b-13; 6, 9b-13. 15. 16a. 17. 18. 20). That part of chapter vii which is most general in character also belonged to the Marcionite revision (7, 1b. 7-9. 28b-35). In chapter xi the same reviser transformed into a theory of the sacramental supper what had in the original referred to the common meal. The reference to the two Adams in chapter xv (22. 45-52a. c. 53-58) also belonged to the Marcionite revision, as did the final exhortation (16, 13-14) and the salutation (16, 22-24, except the word *maranatha*).

From the two Catholic revisions came slight retouching, the introduction of some Old Testament quotations, the rebuke of litigation (6, 1-9), parts of chapter vii, the whole of chapters viii, ix, and x, and that part of chapter xv which deals with the resurrection.

The book of Coulange, "La Vierge Marie," is one of the best in the series, although the title is rather too inclusive for the contents. The author's purpose is not to assemble and criticize historical data as to the Mother of Jesus and the evolution of the legend. Thus he neglects the formation of the tradition relating to the Assumption, and his study is limited to the formation and development of beliefs regarding the virginity and sanctity of Mary, the worship to which they have given rise,

and the theological interpretation which has been given them. Resting on a solid basis of learning and with constant recourse to the original texts, and written with clearness and elegance, this book is within the range of any reader. Its chief merit is that, after stating the facts, it explains their interrelation and shows that they owe their origin to popular piety, which has led to a development of the belief about the virginity of Mary with steadily increasing definiteness and detail. Especially original and valuable is the illuminating exposition of how popular devotion preceded theological elaboration; the doctors merely followed in the path marked out by piety. They sometimes offered resistance, but, as the conditions were, they always ended by adopting the mariological theories which had seemed extreme in the eyes of their predecessors. Indeed, by skillful interpretation the theologians gave these predecessors the credit for their own later views, and so safeguarded the fiction of the immutability of dogma. This observation is important both for religious psychology and for the understanding of the true nature of dogma.

If the larger aspects only of the story as told by Coulange be considered, one is struck by its logical consistency and by the power with which the germ of mariology, once implanted, developed all its consequences. Coulange distinguishes three stages, to which correspond the divisions of his book, entitled "*La Vierge*," "*La Sainte*," and "*L'Immaculée*." The first form of the affirmation of the virginity of Mary, although one which Coulange fails to notice, is met with on the very outer edge of evangelical ideas, in the first and third gospels. Later, as in the *Protevangelium* of James, the virginity of Mary is declared not to have been compromised by the birth of Jesus. Still later it is said that Mary remained perpetually a virgin. It was at this point that the brethren of Jesus mentioned in the tradition became first his half-brothers and then his cousins.

The second part treats of Mary as saint, and shows how, after having at first been supposed, like the rest of the children of Adam, to have sinned and to have received the benefit of the redemption wrought by Christ, Mary came later to be re-

garded as having been a saint from the beginning of her motherhood, and finally even from her mother's womb.

The third part of the book narrates the sequel of the evolution described in the first part, and shows how the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was prepared for and given form. The author foresees a day when, under pressure from religious congregations and the Catholic press, the Holy See will proclaim as dogmas the corporeal ascension of Mary and the virginity of Joseph.

The thesis which Victor Normand undertakes to establish in his book, "La Confession," is that "sacramental confession, as conceived and practised to-day, was absolutely unknown to Christian antiquity and dates only from the Middle Ages" (p. 168). To justify this assertion he sketches the history of penance from the beginning to the Lateran Council in 1215, which made it obligatory for every believer to confess at least once a year.

This account is firmly buttressed with texts. The author makes skillful use of various works on the history of penance; but his bibliography is not complete and it is a little surprising to find that, apart from the writings of Mgr. Boudinhon, and an article by Father Galtier to which he incidentally makes a hostile allusion, there is no citation of the works on penance by Catholic theologians, such as Mgr. Batiffol, Abbé Vacandard, and Father d'Alès in France, and Funk, Rauschen, and Koch in Germany.

In his introduction Normand defines the ideas of contrition, confession, satisfaction, and absolution. In the history of penance he distinguishes three periods. The first extends to the seventh century, and in this period penance is public and uniform, varying in different cases only in duration. The second period, from the seventh century to the twelfth, is that of penance by tariff (to use the expression of Boudinhon). Finally, in the thirteenth century, sacramental penance was established as it exists to-day.

The first period knew four forms of confession: first, private confession to God, which had no sacramental character and was



mediated by no intervention of priest or church; secondly, collective, or liturgical, confession, which as far back as the date of the Didache preceded the eucharistic communion; thirdly, the confession implied in the public penance to which certain sinners were subjected; and fourthly, occasional confession, avowal made to the bishop of sins of which a sinner desired to be cleared by penance. Whether the penance were public or private, the avowal which preceded it had no sacramental character, but was a simple taking of counsel.

Auricular confession, private and secret, was introduced in the fourth century in the monasteries of the East. It was not sacramental, since it had to be made to a monk, who most commonly was not a priest. Its purpose was not the remission of past sin, but the prevention of future sin.

Satisfaction, the second element in penance, is the reparation by meritorious works of the offense committed against God. When a believer had committed a grave sin like murder, idolatry, or adultery, he was *ipso facto* excluded from the community and had to do penance. A laying-on of hands by the bishop put him into the class of penitents deprived of the communion and obliged to remain at the door of the church or in a corner apart, without being able to be present at the eucharist. The penitent was further required to subject himself to ascetic practices. After a longer or shorter time the bishop, after consulting the community, could readmit him to the church; but he nevertheless remained tainted with an indelible stain. Entrance into the clergy was completely closed to him. In this first period the penalty for the sin was the exclusion, not the penitential practices, which were left to the initiative of the individual.

The power to pardon sins belonged originally to God alone. When Tertullian admits that the church can pardon, he is speaking only of the Montanist church, which possessed the Spirit. Until the end of the second century Catholics allowed the intervention of inspired persons, and later that of confessors, who constituted a special class of the inspired; but the hierarchy speedily got rid of these interventions. The formula, "The church has power to pardon sins," was extended so as to

allow the bishop to restore to a place in the community a penitent whom he judged to be already reconciled with God. The original meaning of this restitution was soon forgotten, and it became a real pardon of sins granted or procured by the clergy.

Penance by tariff, which appeared in the seventh century, put the exclusion from the community into second place and finally caused it to disappear, while the mortifications of the flesh came to take first rank and were exactly proportioned to the sin to be expiated. It was now the priest who determined the satisfaction to be offered, taking as his guide the tariffs found in the lists made for the purpose, the Penitentials. In certain cases substitutes were allowed. These practices, which had their origin in monastic life, naturally spread to the churches founded and directed by missionary monks, and were the more readily adopted because the populations of Germanic origin were already familiar with the *Wergild*.

The development of penance by tariff increased the importance of confession, since this had to be complete and detailed in order that the satisfaction might be in exact proportion to the sin. It enhanced the importance of the priest, since his intervention was indispensable for a correct application of the penitential tariff and the system of compensations. But important as the priest's part was, it did not involve the idea of a sacrament. There is no absolution in the Penitentials. What secures pardon to the sinner is solely the satisfaction offered.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, penance by tariff became less strict. Confession ceased to be a ministry of justice, to become a ministry of pardon. The determination of the satisfaction to be offered was left more and more to the priest; his prayer of intercession was considered as the pledge, or even as the cause, of the pardon.

This was a direct preparation for the change which took place at the beginning of the third period, when scholastic theology developed its theory of sacraments and applied it to penance. Confession, considered as the matter, or quasi-matter, of the sacrament, became necessary and strictly obligatory; absolution, understood as a sacrament, was conceived as acting *ex opere operato* to consummate the pardon. Contrition and sat-

isfaction continued to exist but their importance was diminished. An imperfect contrition could suffice, since absolution came in, to consummate the pardon. Satisfaction, too, diminished in importance, since it now depended only on the priest.

The obligatory character of confession and the preponderant importance of absolution were not the only consequences of the development of the sacramental doctrine. The sacraments having been, by definition, instituted by Jesus Christ, a great labor of adaptation was necessary in order to prove that the church had from the beginning professed and practised the sacrament of penance as defined in the twelfth century.

The picture swiftly drawn by Normand is a complete demonstration of his thesis. Yet his book is not quite satisfying. In the first place, the author is much more concerned to prove the Catholic theory ill-grounded than to make a fresh study of the history of penance, so that his treatment has a negative and polemic character. Furthermore, the subject is not defined with sufficient precision. The title is "Confession," but in reality, and necessarily, it deals with the whole question of penance.

At the same time, certain aspects of this history are left obscure; for instance, he does not show that the variations in the conception of penance in the first centuries correspond to a transformation in the idea of the church. So long as the church was thought of as a society of saints, it was constrained to exclude sinners. This did not imply that they were doomed to perdition, since the principle, "Outside of the church, no salvation," had not yet been formulated. Later, when the church had come to be thought of as the institution essential for salvation, the possibility had to be allowed of a reëntrance of sinners, or even of their remaining in the community without accepting the discipline of penance. To do otherwise would have been to consign them to everlasting perdition.

Another point is that if Normand had not been so exclusively occupied with polemics, he would perhaps have continued his history beyond the twelfth century and at least as far as the sixteenth, so as to show how the development of the theory

and practice of indulgences became one of the causes of the Reformation.

Under the title, "*Foi et science au moyen-âge*," Félix Sartiaux has drawn a sketch of the development of thought in the West during the Middle Ages. His book has not only the merit of bringing together a great deal of information, but also the novelty of giving an important place to a series of facts which writers on mediaeval thought often neglect — the development of the sciences, feeble indeed, but still sufficient to form the connecting link between ancient and modern science. He undertakes to show the part played by the spirit of the exact sciences in preparing for the dissolution of scholastic dogmatism.

For such a subject a special preparation was necessary, and this Sartiaux had to an unusual degree. Trained in the strict mathematical discipline of the *École Polytechnique*, engineer by profession, he has directed his intellectual curiosity into the most diverse fields — archaeology, the history of philosophy, and especially metaphysics. He brings to his work, to use his own expression, "a mind independent of all metaphysics, the spirit of the positive sciences and positive philosophy." His dominating purpose is to make "an historical synthesis which seeks to explain the facts by determining the conditions of their origin." His entire independence of metaphysics, and consequently of all religion, seems at times not so much neutrality as hostility, and his book wears a tone of controversy. Though he tries to be impartial, he does not always succeed in attaining the serenity proper to history. In places one feels the restrained but vibrant passion. With regard to the systems by which mediaeval theologians endeavored to adjust the Christian faith to the philosophical ideas of antiquity, Sartiaux expresses himself thus:

They are not unlike the systems which men of science devise to coördinate the facts of experience. Dogmatic formulas and the concepts of ancient metaphysics play the part taken by the facts of experience in scientific theories; but in the sciences the premises are real, the experimental reasoning strict, the theories enhance men's control over things and enable them to prophesy facts. In metaphysical theological systems this is not the case. Their data are artificial, assembled only by the accidents of history; their postulates are for the most part arbitrary when they are not contradictory;



their reasoned justification, often mere paralogism. None of them has ever succeeded in explaining anything; the more they increased, the less they accorded with one another. The metaphysicians were on a false track, and turned their back on the explanations that they sought (pp. 239-240).

A little later he speaks of a delirium, prolonged through several centuries, for which scholastic philosophy is responsible and which only the experimental philosophy of France and England in the eighteenth century succeeded in throwing off (pp. 242 f.).

This prejudice against all metaphysics diminishes the worth of judgments of value expressed or implied in Sartiaux's work. Fortunately it does not lessen the interest of the picture which he sets before us, nor the importance of his observations as to the influence exercised by general factors (morals, civilization, culture) on the development of scholastic theories. He has made judicious observations which well deserve consideration.

Émile Derminghem, the author of important studies on Joseph de Maistre, publishes for the first time a memoir by de Maistre on Free Masonry. It was written in 1782 for Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick-Lüneburg, grand-master of freemasons of the reformed Scottish Rite, of strict Templar observance, who had convoked a general council to consider the dangers to freemasonry from the attacks and disclosures of a renegade named Stark, and to attempt to bring some degree of order into the masonic anarchy of the period.

Joseph de Maistre, who had been since 1774 a member of the lodge, "Les Trois Mortiers," founded at Chambéry in 1749, became in 1778 a member of the lodge, "La Parfaite Sincérité," then newly founded in consequence of the visit of a German named Schubart, who preached illuminism. In addition, under the name of Josephus de Floribus, he was one of a very secret group of four initiates of superior degree.

The memoir published by Derminghem, with a full introduction, is written with fire and enthusiasm. It is doubly important, both for what it tells of the state of freemasonry at the end of the eighteenth century and for what it reveals as to the part played by illuminism and occultism in the thought of the great Catholic controversialist.

Joseph de Maistre believed that that form of masonry which attaches itself to the Mysteries of ancient times presents no contradiction to Christianity or to the Catholic Church. Its aim is a profounder interpretation of dogma, and it claims to serve the church. The pages in which he lays it down as the duty of masonry to work for the reunion of the various Christian sects, will be read with interest (pp. 100 ff.). This ideal was not inspired by a spirit of liberality, for to de Maistre tolerance was only "stupid indifference"; rather did union seem to him essential in order to combat religious indifference and skepticism. The various forms of Christianity must stand together, opposed to a common enemy. But this enterprise will never succeed if it is discussed in public. Action must be secret — "noiseless," de Maistre says — so as not to offend the pride of the theologians. Christians must some day be surprised to find themselves united. De Maistre wanted to begin by bringing Catholics and Lutherans together, for, he says, "the difference of their symbols is not enormous." As to the Calvinists, who have strangely disfigured Christianity, they must be the ones to make concessions.

In "Le christianisme et la révolution française," Aulard<sup>14</sup> has given a general view, drawn from the considerable mass of facts which he has assembled in the course of a long career wholly devoted to the history of the revolution, but the work is not a mere résumé of the author's previous publications. He says in the preface that he has been led to modify his views on important points. The revolution was in conflict with religion, especially with the Catholic Church. This conflict, sometimes pursued by violent means, seemed at times destined to end in a complete victory of atheistic free-thinking or in a vaguely deistic movement, but it was brought to an end by the concordat, with a victory for the Catholic Church. Aulard formerly thought that the failure of the anti-religious efforts of the revolution is to be explained by the deep root which, in spite of the philosophic movement of the eighteenth century,

<sup>14</sup> An English translation by Lady Frazer of Aulard's book has appeared, under the title, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, London, E. Benn, 1927.

Catholicism had taken in the hearts of the masses of the people. He now thinks that the attachment of the French to Catholicism at the end of that century was not very strong, and explains the failure of the attempts at dechristianization by a series of contingent causes, which he sets forth very clearly. After reading his essay, the impression left is that the two explanations do not exclude one another. While the reasons given for the fact that Christianity did not perish in the storms of the revolution seem convincing, so far as one who is not an expert in this field can judge, yet the facts adduced to prove that the soul of the French in the eighteenth century was only superficially Christian are not such as to justify that opinion.

Aulard's account is divided into four parts. The first is devoted to the state of Christianity in France at the end of the *ancien régime*. The second treats of the civil constitution of the clergy, and shows how at the beginning the lower clergy supported the revolution. The author describes vividly the complicated situation in the Constituent Assembly, which showed no hostility to Catholicism but yet refused to proclaim it as the established religion. He depicts the conflict which arose from the protest of the pope against the declaration of human and civil rights, and from the condemnation of the civil constitution of the clergy, which, at the very moment when the religion of the nation was developing, put the non-juring priests in the position of counter-revolutionists. Theoretically at least, the only conflict in this first period was between the revolution and a clerical party made up of priests who were more Roman than Gallican.

With the Convention (part third of the book), although the civil constitution of the clergy was at first maintained, the conflict became sharper, and we find a genuine attempt to do away with Christianity, while at the same time, in the worship of Reason and in that of the Supreme Being, efforts were made to satisfy religious needs without Christianity and the Catholic Church.

To the period of persecution succeeded in 1794 the period of separation (part fourth of the book). In September of that year the salaries of the clergy were suppressed; the law of the

third Ventose, year III, which promulgated the separation, permitted the constitutional church to revive and Roman Catholic worship to reappear. The law of the seventh Vendémiaire, year IV, restored the churches to believers, but the Convention and afterwards the Directory made a systematic effort at secularization through public education and through such measures as the tenth-day holiday. This whole system came to an end in 1802, on the conclusion of the concordat. If it be asked whether this event and the negotiations that led up to it ought not to form the natural conclusion of Aulard's narrative, the answer is that in his view the concordat, far from having concluded the religious history of the revolution, in reality repudiated it.

Jean Pommier has now completed his earlier studies of Renan by the addition of a volume, "*La pensée religieuse de Renan.*" This will be well received, for the interest in Renan's ideas is increasing, though with few illusions, at least among scholars, as to the value of his great history of the origins of Christianity. Pommier has not attempted to write a history of the growth of Renan's thought, which would have required a very extended study, or to bring his thought on religious problems into a system. He has merely aimed to collect and arrange the various views that Renan had occasion to express. The result is extremely interesting, and will be useful for consultation. The book is divided into three parts: "Philosophy," "Religion," "Jesus," each consisting of a series of chapters in logical sequence.

Whether the book will add to the glory of Renan is doubtful, for it brings out what is inconsistent, elusive, and even contradictory in the statements and opinions so carefully gathered up here. Possibly some irreverent reader may even go so far as to say that what the book demonstrates most fully is that Renan had no religious thought.

The third part, "Jesus," will not increase Renan's fame as an historian. It shows that many of his ideas were uncertain, as for instance on the date and composition of the gospels; and, what is perhaps still more serious, that when he wrote his "Life



of Jesus" these ideas were not yet fixed, even so far as they ever came to be.

In the greater part of his book, Pommier has confined himself to recording the opinions expressed by Renan and showing their variations; but in the last paragraph of the third part, on the problem of the historical existence of Jesus, he has departed from this attitude of strict impartiality. Comparing the "so conservative" opinion of Renan with the "radicalism" of P. L. Couchoud, he attempts to clear Renan on the score of reaction and to make of him, at least morally, the patron of the theory that Jesus never existed. He quotes a number of passages in which Renan presents the perfectly correct idea that the apostle Paul spoke of Jesus as a god rather than a man, and he expresses astonishment, as if it were an inconsistency, that elsewhere Renan refers to the same Paul as a witness to the existence of Jesus.

When he doubted with Paul, then doubtless he believed with the gospels; and he came to believe with Paul as soon as he doubted with the gospels. An acrobatic feat (*jeu de desultator*) indeed! (p. 231).<sup>15</sup>

It is a pity that thus at the end of his book Pommier should abandon the objective character which gave the work its value, and venture on uncertain ground, without due sense of the complexity of questions which he answers in a simplistic fashion surprising in a man who, one would think, ought to have gained from Renan himself a more exact feeling for delicate distinctions.

On "Christianisme" as a whole it is not easy to pass a just judgment. Naturally the criticism has been utterly diverse. While the press of the left has commonly greeted the successive issues with enthusiasm, not always very competent, yet the judgments of the critics have shown reserves, more or less serious. P. Lesourd recently wrote in "Le Figaro":<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> As to the word 'desultator,' Father Lagrange writes in the *Revue Biblique* (1926, p. 448): "Humiliated at not knowing the meaning of this word, apparently Latin, the reviewer has looked it up in the new *Thesaurus*. It is not there. Doubtless it is for 'desultor,' the circus rider who leaps from one horse to another to the amazement of the crowd of idlers."

<sup>16</sup> July 10, 1926.



Lest anyone be misled by the title of these books, we warn those to whom the names of the authors mean nothing, that the books are all profoundly impregnated with anticatholic and antichristian spirit, and contain a great many errors which it is not our place here to refute, but against which it is our duty to put our readers on their guard.

Somewhat earlier René Gillouin, a Protestant, writing of the books of Houtin, Loisy, Delafosse, and Coulange, denounced "Christianisme" as "a new antichristian offensive."<sup>17</sup> In the historical volumes of the series he recognized "a common spirit, openly anticatholic, antichristian, and antireligious,"<sup>18</sup> and, noting that several of the writers were formerly involved in the modernist movement and have been condemned by the church,<sup>19</sup> he says:

In reading these books, one cannot avoid the impression that if the church had been indulgent toward the authors, they would willingly have remained within the fold, by favor of one or another cleverly maintained idealistic ambiguity. It was only when driven out that they threw off the mask. The church has done well to dismiss them.

The express reserves and in some cases severe criticism offered in the present article are sufficient evidence that the writer of it cannot be suspected of partiality in favor of the series "Christianisme." I am therefore free to say that the severe judgments of Lesourd and Gillouin seem to me hardly just. To utter views not in conformity with tradition, or even such as are erroneous, relating to this or that book of the New Testament or to the conditions in which this or that dogma or religious practice developed — that is not necessarily to be antireligious or antichristian. It is not even to be anticatholic, except in the strict sense of not being Catholic after the manner of Pius X. It is permissible to imagine, even if the event be not very probable, that the day may come when not merely certain individuals but the church herself will feel the need of

<sup>17</sup> "Nouvelles littéraires," June 19, 1926.

<sup>18</sup> Father Lagrange writes in the *Revue Biblique* (1926, p. 453); "P.-L. Couchoud is in charge of the publication of certain pamphlets under the general title 'Christianisme'; it would be as well to say 'Antichristianisme,' at least for most of the pamphlets."

<sup>19</sup> He refers to Houtin and Loisy, and we might add the writer who signs himself "Delafosse," for he is said to be a Catholic priest still performing clerical functions. Since Gillouin speaks of "the pseudo-Coulange," why does he not also say "the pseudo-Normand"?

bringing her teaching and her doctrine into harmony with the facts established by history. Accordingly, the series "Christianisme" does not seem to justify the condemnation passed upon it by Pius X.

But while the judgment of Gillouin, and still more that of Lesourd, seems to me to go too far, the fact cannot be disguised that in a general way and with rare exception the books of this series do give evidence of a certain hostility, at least to the traditional forms of the Christian religion. Is this partisanship intentional and systematic? I do not think so, for I know that Dr. Couchoud wished to secure certain collaborators who would have brought in a tone less exclusively hostile to traditional Christianity. The invitations were declined because of the character of the first numbers, and the same reasons, I fear, will make it difficult in the future to change appreciably the character of the series. We may hope, however, that the editor will eventually succeed.

To that end the series must be more strictly faithful to its original program. It was founded as an instrument of popularization, designed to inform the general public of the results of the most recent studies in the history of Christianity. The author of a book for general reading need not, of course, limit himself to reproducing the average of commonly accepted ideas; and he ought to have the right to make his own contribution to the solution of the questions discussed. But popularization does not consist in setting forth views in flagrant disagreement with current ideas, which, if well founded, would compel the complete reconstruction of our ideas relating to the origins of Christianity.

I do not question the right of Couchoud to deny the existence of Jesus, or that of Delafosse to assign to the end of the second century the composition of some of the principal books of the New Testament; but it seems to me that such theories ought not to be presented as expressing the result of the most recent studies, or as summing up the work of criticism during the past generation. Especially is it a grave pedagogical error to put out these theories in a publication intended for a public which is incapable of judging them, before they have been put to the

test of criticism and discussion. There is danger of disaster with this public through the sheer force of the contradiction which some of the theories presented as definitive results will at once evoke in many minds. Such a method in popularization is, to say the least, imprudent. It is not well adapted for initiating the general public into studies to which it has so long been averse; it runs the risk of merely disgusting it forever with the whole affair.

This is the reason why, with all due respect to Couchoud's intentions, to the zeal he has shown in editing his series, and to his talents and those of his collaborators, I doubt whether the volumes of "Christianisme" can really effect the education of the French public in the history of religion. If they contribute something toward awakening curiosity about these questions and a taste for them, and toward making the interest and importance of them better understood, they will render a service for which our thanks will be due to Dr. Couchoud and to the writers whom he has associated with himself in his undertaking.







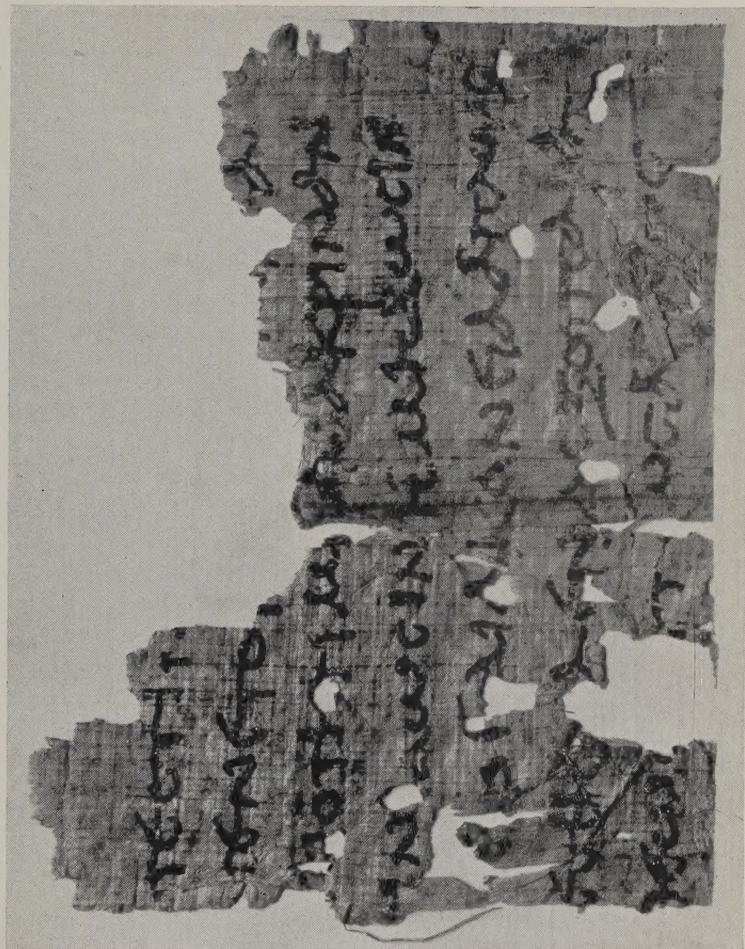


PLATE II Michigan Papyrus 44-H (verso). Lines 1-7 enlarged

